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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CARIBBEAN

Cuba

Castro Interview With Bucaranda in Caracas *[Havana TV]* 1
Approval of Resolution 435 Termed 'Triumph' *[Havana TV]* 15
Correction to Sugar Production Below Average 15

Dominica

Taiwan To Provide Development Assistance *[CANA]* 15

Grenada

Jones 'Preoccupied' With Work of Government *[CANA]* 16

Haiti

Forum Opens To Establish Electoral Institution *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 16
Neighborhood Committees Demand Leaders' Release *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 17
Organization Plans Demonstration *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 18
Nationwide Demonstrations Called *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 18
Students Not Attending School in Cap Haitien *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 19
No School, Flaming Barricades in Petit Goave *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 19
Student Group Calls for Continued Mobilization *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 19
Recruiting of Cane Cutters Leads to Clash *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 20
MPP Questions Government *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 20
Former Presidential Soldiers Denounce Government *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 21
Bishop Denies Grassroots Parishes Possess Weapons *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 21

Jamaica

Bush's Congratulations Wish to Manley 'Welcomed' *[CANA]* 22
Manley Promises No Upheaval in Local Economy *[CANA]* 22
Wants Relations With Caricom *[Paramaribo International]* 23
Seaga To Be Sworn In as Opposition Leader *[CANA]* 23

CENTRAL AMERICA

Costa Rica

Arias Briefs Government Council on Summit *[San Jose Radio]* 24
Madrigal 'Optimistic' About Ortega's Promises *[San Jose Radio]* 24
Information Minister Meets Ortega Envoy *[LA NACION 9 Feb]* 24
Arms Cache Found at Panamanian's House *[Panama City Radio]* 24
Illegal Landing of Panamanian Plane Reported *[LA NACION 9 Feb]* 25

El Salvador

Rebels Send Letter to Political Parties *[ACAN]* 25
FMLN, Political Parties To Meet in Mexico *[San Salvador Radio]* 26

FMLN Replies to Political Parties Proposal *[DIARIO LATINO 16 Feb]* 27
FMLN: Summit 'Step Toward Self-Determination' *[Radio Venceremos]* 28
FMLN Carries Out 'Fierce' Attacks on 2 Towns *[AFP]* 28
Casualties Reported *[San Salvador Radio]* 28
100 Casualties in Attack *[Radio Venceremos]* 29
FMLN Reports Army Casualties in Chalatenango *[Radio Venceremos]* 29
Former Rebel 'Deserter' Found Shot To Death *[Madrid EFE]* 30
Death of 'Traitor' Reported *[Radio Venceremos]* 30

Nicaragua

Contras Ready for 'Immediate' Dialogue *[ACAN]* 30
Anti-Sandinist Politicians To Return to Managua *[ACAN]* 30
Opposition Comment on Summit Agreements *[Managua Radio]* 31
President Ortega Congratulates Jamaica's Manley *[ACAN]* 32

Panama

Solis Palma Comments on Presidential Summit *[MEDIODIA 15 Feb]* 32
Commentary Terms U.S. Policy 'Dead End' *[MATUTINO 15 Feb]* 32
2 U.S. Citizens Arrested at Military Base *[Panama City TV]* 33
COLINA's Duque Speaks to Sugar Mill Workers *[Panama City Radio]* 34
Planning Minister on Normalizing Finances *[Panama City TV]* 35
Weekly Review of Political Situation 35

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina

Caputo Comments on Menem's Remarks on Falklands *[TELAM]* 41
Alfonsin Welcomes Malian President Traore *[TELAM]* 41

Bolivia

Negotiations With U.S. on Tin Sales Planned *[La Paz Radio]* 41
Armed Forces Chief Unaware of Managua Offer *[La Paz Radio]* 41
Air Force Rejects Offer *[La Paz Radio]* 42
Government To Discuss Salvadoran Migration *[La Paz Radio]* 42
* Points of Discord Between MNR, ADN Viewed 42
* Compromise Attempted *[PRESENCIA 21 Jan]* 42
* Pact With ADN Denied *[EL DIARIO 24 Jan]* 43
* Party Positions Compared *[HOY 25 Jan]* 43

Chile

Pinochet Tours Ninth Region, Urges Unity *[Santiago Radio]* 45
Sergio Diez Nominated Presidential Candidate *[Santiago TV]* 45
Two Warships Purchased From Israel Arrive *[Madrid EFE]* 45

Colombia

5 FARC Fronts Announce Unilateral Cease-Fire *[AFP]* 45
ELN Calls for Mediation by Former President *[DPA]* 46
Over 45 Casualties in Sucre Department Clashes *[Bogota Radio]* 46
'The Black Hand' Causes Bucaramanga 'Massacre' *[EL SIGLO 8 Feb]* 46

Paraguay

Government Will Not Postpone 1 May Elections *[ULTIMA HORA 15 Feb]* 47
Stroessner Accused of Misuse of Public Funds *[ULTIMA HORA 16 Feb]* 47
Armed Forces Release Official Casualty List *[Asuncion TV]* 47

Former Minister Being Held at Police Hospital *[EL DIARIO 16 Feb]* 47
Police Officer Causes PLRA Meeting Suspension *[HOY 16 Feb]* 48
Correction to Political Figures on Events 48

Peru

Soviet Trawlers Fishing Despite Objections *[Lima Radio]* 48
Strikers Occupy Swiss Embassy, Soviet Institute *[Lima TV]* 48
Police Arrest Peasant Federation Secretary *[Madrid EFE]* 48
* Rivas Davila on Costs of Social Plan *[EL COMERCIO 23 Dec]* 49
* Congressmen Want New Approach to Debt Problem *[EL COMERCIO 21 Dec]* 49
* Chamber of Commerce Calls for Economic Plan *[EL COMERCIO 22 Dec]* 50
* Oil Field Could Yield 2.5 Billion Barrels *[EL COMERCIO 21 Dec]* 50
Police Destroy 3 Cocaine Labs in Alto Huallaga *[Lima TV]* 51
Drug Shipments Seized, Traffickers Killed *[Lima TV]* 51
Base Under Construction in the Antarctica *[Lima TV]* 51

Uruguay

Argentine 'Terrorist' Communiques of Concern *[Montevideo Radio]* 52
Communist Party To Publish New Mouthpiece *[BUSQUEDA 9-15 Feb]* 52
Appointment of New Cuban Ambassador Accepted *[LA HORA 6 Feb]* 52

Venezuela

President Perez Announces New Economic Measures *[Caracas TV]* 52

Suriname

Bouterse Marks Coup Jubilee With Speeches *[Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT 10 Feb]* 57
Military 'Cocaine Link' Probe Demanded *[Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT 13 Feb]* 57

Cuba

Castro Interview With Bucaranda in Caracas

FL1502151089 Havana Television Cubana Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Interview granted by President Fidel Castro to Venezuelan journalist Nelson Bucaranda in Caracas, Venezuela; date not given—recorded; Havana Cubavision Television in Spanish at 0030 GMT on 15 February broadcast the same interview and the two versions were found to be identical.]

[Text] [Bucaranda] Commander, first of all, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to have a peaceful conversation here with you in your room.

What has this Caracas meeting meant to you, Commander? We know that you have had many meetings. What has it meant to Fidel Castro to come to Caracas after a 30-year absence?

[Castro] I would not focus [clears his throat] on the topic [clears his throat] of what this has meant to me. I would ask instead how this could be useful to our common cause.

In that sense, I do not have the intention of focusing on problems from my point of view, for my convenience, or based on my interests or on objectives that I might personally persue.

I think that the meeting is undoubtedly useful for the common interests of the Latin American people. I felt strongly motivated to attend this meeting because I understood its importance [words indistinct], not because they would be discussed at this meeting. There have been many meetings. One cannot speak of just one meeting. People have come from all around the world and from Latin America. Of course, we are more interested in matters related to our hemisphere.

I saw something new, unique: the presence of almost all political leaders from different parties. There is a large representation here of Latin American political parties and chiefs of governments and states. It seems to me that this is an awareness of the times in which we live, a tendency toward [words indistinct] Latin American countries. In that sense, I felt that I should not be absent from this meeting even though traveling creates certain difficulties for me, for obvious reasons.

I was invited to Ecuador and I went. I was invited to Mexico—this was the first time chiefs of governments were invited—and I went. I think that Carlos Andres [Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez] made a brave gesture in inviting me, although I am sure he knew that my visit would be controversial.

In view of this gesture, which is new, some people have asked me: Why has the policy changed here? Why are you attending these ceremonies? I told them that the reason was very simple: I was invited. I am being invited. Before this, I was not invited.

[Bucaranda] Mr President, are Cuba's doors opening up to Latin America in another way or are Latin America's doors opening up to Cuba? How would you interpret this, although you have said that we will not [word indistinct] this. It seems that there is a desire to integrate Cuba again into the community.

[Castro] I see that this is reciprocal. Latin America's doors are opening up to Cuba and I would say that Cuba's heart is opening up to Latin America.

[Bucaranda] Some of the controversies that have surrounded your visit pertain to a reminder of (militarism) or communism, as it was being called at that time, 30 years ago, during the emergence of our democracy. Democracy was being attacked. Some did not want democracy to emerge in Venezuela. This has been used. This is what is being used. Everyone knows.

How would you interpret Fidel Castro's acceptance of a strong and solid democracy in Venezuela despite the ups and downs of that time? Has Castro changed? Has the revolution changed? Have the times changed in the world? Have you been aware of this?

[Castro] I don't think that the events can be analyzed in light of the current situation. It has to be analyzed in view of the times in which all this happened.

At that time, the process in Cuba and Venezuela were [words indistinct] process. They were very united processes. When we had Batista in Cuba, you had Perez Jimenez in Venezuela. When we fought against Batista in Cuba, you were fighting against Perez Jimenez in this country. However, you had the privilege of finishing your fight before we did.

[Bucaranda] It was about 1 year.

[Castro] Just about, just about [repeats himself].

[Bucaranda] Just about.

[Castro] It was on 23 January. It was received with tremendous jubilation. It was very encouraging to us. As a result of that situation, Venezuela became very much in solidarity with us and the country helped us as much as possible. Toward the end of the war, we even received weapons from Venezuela. The government sent them to us. [Words indistinct] the president. One day a plane arrived with the weapons. It was not a large quantity but their arrival was very opportune. We received 150 weapons. This included an automatic weapon which is the one I used henceforth. This was during the last few months of the war.

A revolutionary situation was created in the two countries. Our revolution triumphed on 1 January. That was received with extraordinary jubilation in Venezuela. The two countries were experiencing a revolutionary process and the scope of that process was yet to be defined. [Words indistinct] a strong political fight in Venezuela. When the revolution triumphed, elections had already been held. We had no objection to that.

[Bucaranda] You were received by President-elect Betancourt. He was president-elect...

[Castro, interrupting] Yes but he had not yet...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] He was only president-elect.

[Castro] He had not yet taken office. I was invited to Venezuela. I came to Venezuela. I arrived in Venezuela and they treated me as if I had [words indistinct]. I was reviewing some papers from that time...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] There are some photos here, too.

[Castro] Yes. I said that I was much more impressed by the way I was received in Venezuela because I had not done anything in Venezuela. I was told that our people were received [words indistinct] because they had been fighting for our people.

That made a profound impression on us. It was an act of the masses, of multitudes. Some say it was one of the largest...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] The Ceremony of Silence [el acto de silencio] was one of the largest seen.

[Castro] Some say it was one of the largest ones that has taken place here in Venezuela. We also arrived [words indistinct] Sierra Maestra. Our experience was in fighting. We were much less experienced in politics.

I do remember something, however, that proves our attitude of respect toward the Venezuelan process. It was precisely during the Ceremony of Silence. There was a large multitude of people there; I don't know exactly how many. It seemed like all of Caracas was there. I was thanking everyone for the visit and I was mentioning certain people. I mentioned (Rasabulo). There was much applause. At that time, I had the responsibility of also mentioning President-elect Romulo Bentancourt and [words indistinct] as a result of that. It was a very strong reaction from the masses. I found myself in a truly embarrassing situation. Why was this happening? Elections were just held.

Most of the city of Caracas had (?opposed) Betancourt's party because the opposition here...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] The opposition won here, yes.

[Castro] The opposition had won the elections. The Democratic Action Party won the elections in the interior of the country. My reaction was one of protest. I protested bitterly [words indistinct] that such a reaction could be produced against a political personality. I said that I had not come to Venezuela to get involved in the country's internal problems and that it hurt me very much that such a reaction would occur when I mentioned a certain person. I confronted the masses and I protested that reaction.

This shows you the state of [word indistinct] that existed in Venezuela. There were two strong currents in the country. One current was inclined toward a gradual process. We could say it was a normal political process. However, there was a very strong current that leaned toward a more radical, more profound political process. It had the strong support of the masses. You can't blame that on me in any way. It is undeniable that our own revolution, Cuba's own victory...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Castro] It had a great influence on events. The population was divided. There were two views. They were confronting each other and I discovered that confrontation here but I did not consider myself to be a part of that confrontation. That was an interior problem. It was a time that you might call unfortunate because at that time, our own confrontation with the United States began. The United States began its program to isolate Cuba, which resulted in the blockade, in the, in the [repeats himself], the Giron invasion, the plans to invade Cuba, which led to such serious events as the October Crisis.

At that time, the United States had enormous influence on Latin America. It had tremendous influence. At that time, its influence was much greater than it is now. It is undeniable that the situation is different now in this hemisphere. There is a much greater spirit of independence. However, at that time, the domination of the United States over this hemisphere was total. It began its campaign to blockade, to isolate Cuba.

There were special circumstances in Venezuela. The people were divided between the party that won the elections and the party that had a long tradition of fighting in the country, as well the leftist parties which were much more radical...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] They were violent.

[Castro] Logically—they were not too violent, yet—logically...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Castro] Logically, we had more similarities with them. We previously had not had a large amount of relations with Betancourt's party. At that time, when Trujillo was in Santo Domingo, when Somozo was in Nicaragua, and when Perez Jimenez was here...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] And Batista?

[Castro] Batista was not in Cuba yet. When the coup occurred against Romulo Gallegos, one of the places where people took refuge was in Cuba. There was a government then in Cuba, the Grau government, which was followed by the Prio government. They were constitutional governments although, of course, from a political point of view, they were a great failure. A lot of corruption took place. [Words indistinct] the people had relations with Cuban intellectuals, with some Cuban politicians. Even within that government party there was much corruption. There were such people as Raul Roa and others who had ties with the party.

For historic reasons, the [word indistinct] party, the AD [Democratic Action] Party, or the party of the [words indistinct] established contact with the leaders of the party that was governing Cuba. They were naturally expressing their appreciation because Cuba supported them under those circumstances; Cuba supported them.

However, when we emerged with the revolution, the principal AD leaders had relations with the leaders of the Authentic Party. We did not have those historic ties.

We met a few leaders when we were exiled in Mexico. I met Carlos Andres Perez when he was very young and thin. He was Romulo's secretary. I met him in Costa Rica. We had very few contacts. [Words indistinct] was one of the few people who made friends with our people in exile in Mexico. There were no historic ties with the Democratic Action but we did not have anything at all against the AD.

During this time, after the triumph of the revolution, after the electoral triumph of the AD, another phenomenon occurred in our historic relations with the leftist groups. By definition, we were leftists. It could not be said that it was a democratic movement. It was a rightist movement but we also saw things in black in white. But that...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] You saw things in red and white, in red and white.

[Castro, chuckling] Okay, in red in white then. [laughter] That was not a source of friction. The friction began when the United States began its aggression against us, the beginning of [words indistinct], also the conflicts that emerged within Cuba when people began defining their positions: who was in favor of the revolution, who was against it. Of course [words indistinct] with those groups of the Authentic Party, all those things.

I think that this similar situation and the policy of the United States is when the first dissension began. Problems, [word indistinct] began to emerge. These did not come from ideological matters. They came from our feelings toward the aggression of the United States. We really were never able to establish close ties with the Venezuelan Government where there was a strong leftist tendency. The leftist groups had more radical positions. They wanted more radical positions. They wanted a revolution like Cuba's.

[Bucaranda] [Words indistinct] could result?

[Castro] At that time we thought.... [changes thought] Kennedy and the United States thought the same thing. They got scared when the revolution triumphed. They were very concerned. That is when the Alliance for Progress was created. The United States created this theory. They also drafted agrarian reform. Agrarian reform at that time was considered to be something communist but the United States began to talk about agrarian reform, fiscal reform, education measures, public health, better living conditions for the people. In short, this was a policy inspired by the Cuban Revolution to try and avert revolutions. We wanted...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Castro] The problem emerged from within the country. The problem was not exported by anyone. No one could have invented it.

On the one hand, while a strong position was developed, a very hard position among the principal political forces of Venezuela, conflicts emerged in official relations with Venezuela until a time was reached when [words indistinct].

The first counterrevolutionaries used the Venezuelan Embassy. They took refuge in the Venezuelan Embassy when the fight began. That is how...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] That is when things began to deteriorate.

[Castro] Relations with Venezuela began to deteriorate. All this happened at the time when the United States was pressuring (?the government) to break relations. I do not think that it was a matter of pressure in Venezuela. I think that it was due to antagonism that developed internally. There was antagonism against Cuba. Relations were broken when other governments broke relations with Cuba. That left us with only one relation: that with the leftists.

If you asked me, did you think that changes would occur? Yes, at that time we thought changes would occur. We even thought that there would be revolutions in...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] You thought there would be revolutions in Latin America?

[Castro] It was not me. That problem emerged from within the country. Even the military forces were divided. The military forces were divided in a certain sense because some were more or less in favor of the political process. There was also [words indistinct] more radical. Military confrontations then took place in the country. Above all, there were political confrontations within the country. That is what gave rise to that situation.

If you asked me, were you in favor of more radical reforms?. Yes, we were. [chuckles] Were you in favor of revolution? Yes, we were in favor of revolution.

That occurred during a time when we were (?carrying out) a terrible fight.

[Bucaranda] Commander, if we are...

[Castro, interrupting] We remember this happened exactly when the revolution occurred. Relations (?were broken) because of these factors.

[Bucaranda] Considering the circumstances, when did you, the focal point of the Cuban Revolution, realize that democracies [words indistinct]? When did Fidel Castro realize that it really would not work? Was it a few years or not very long?

[Castro] It is a very long period of time and it cannot be summarized in two words. The struggle in Venezuela was internal.

[Bucaranda] Our leftists were struggling, too.

[Castro] A struggle later began among the leftists. During those struggles, we were [words indistinct]. The first thing that occurred was the division within the country, the leftists were divided from the government. Do you understand? That was the first stage.

The second stage was when divisions occurred among the leftists themselves. Some of them began to question things and it took us awhile to see this, to see the problem. Because of temperament, similarities, we were.... [changes thought] It was one of the most radical parties that [words indistinct].

That was a long time. I would say it was a sad period [words indistinct]. We left because it was not up to us to decide what direction would be taken. The direction.... [changes thought] We did not lead the Venezuelan leftists. The Venezuelan leftists had their own leaders, their own views, and made their own decisions. When the uprisings occurred, we had no news of them. We did not know about them. We had no contact with military members...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Fortunately, I think that what was accomplished occurred because you were not (?leading them). There was a...

[Castro, interrupting] The left would take action. There were many leftist parties. They acted absolutely independently from us. We never attempted to lead the left, not at all. When that fight began [words indistinct] of the country.

The Cuban Revolution, what occurred in Cuba, did have some influence. The revolution was radical. We confronted the United States. All of those events, our revolution, were very radical. All that influenced the left. I would say that it was not due to personal influence, although there was some personal influence; I won't deny that. Above all, they were influenced by Cuba's revolutionary experience. They say it themselves.

I was reading some statements and those who analyze these things, who criticize and self-criticize these events, are the leftists themselves. That criticism and self-criticism is not up to us because we were not the ones who adopted that direction. We sympathized with that tendency but it was an absolutely autonomous, independent, leftist decision. They themselves came to the conclusion that this was not the right direction, that the appropriate conditions did not exist for revolutionary changes...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] The conditions did not exist for radical changes.

[Castro] The conditions did not exist for the radical changes that they wanted to make. They arrived to that conclusion before we did. They were the ones who had to reach those conclusions. There was not only a political conflict between politicians who favored a constitutional process and those who wanted a radical revolutionary process, but there was also a conflict among the leftists themselves. That is why I think that era was truly a sad, hard time.

[Bucaranda] Is Fidel Castro different today? Many people see you, Commander, and say: He's changed. Others say: No, he's the same; and still others say: He looks like "The Autumn of the Patriarch," which is the name of a book written by a friend of yours—Gabriel Garcia Marquez—because we see you have so much gray hair now.

[Castro] Yes, it was written by Garcia Marquez. I think I'm the same. [Words indistinct] My ideas are basic. My attitudes are basic. My reactions are basic. If we look back 30 years, [words indistinct] I think that today we focused on problems with much more realism, much more wisdom.

It is possible that we could have avoided the problems to which you refer, the problems of relations between Venezuela and Cuba. That was prolonged a long time. In the end, we had problems with the government. We saw all those who broke relations with us and who supported the actions against Cuba as enemies. We saw them as adversaries. We reacted with much [word indistinct],

with much feeling because, as everyone knows, we were also living a special history: the U.S. blockade, U.S. aggression, arms shipments, sabotage, mercenary invasions, the threat of a direct invasion, the October Crisis. All this led to great historic events in parallel with...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] They continue to occur. [Words indistinct] the Khruschev Crisis. Now books and memoirs are being published.

[Castro] Yes, much is being written.

[Bucaranda] That could be a bestseller [preceding word in English]. This is bestseller material

[Castro] I think so. I use material [words indistinct]. [laughter] When we publish it, I may receive the royalties from a bestseller. We ended up with difficulties. We were practically fighting with everyone.

[Bucaranda] You were isolated.

[Castro] In conclusion, in reference to the Venezuelans, we felt antagonism toward everyone. [Words indistinct] with the government and with the Democratic Action Party. We felt antagonism toward the left, when the left divided. In the end, we felt antagonistic toward everyone.

This is the story. I think that if we had the experience we have now—naturally, experience does not change men; it makes them a little more knowledgeable, more expert, wiser—perhaps we would have done many things differently.

However at that time, something happened that affected us very much. All of Latin America united with the United States against us, with the exception of Mexico. That is why we have such strong respect for Mexico. We saw ourselves in conflict with all of Latin America. We saw all of the Latin American governments as allies of the United States against Cuba. We prepared to defend ourselves. We had become radical inside and outside at that time. We then established relations with all leftists groups and revolutionary movements in Latin America with the only exception being Mexico. We then saw ourselves involved in a fight for survival that lasted for years. All this began to change over the years. Many thought we would be crushed, that we would not be able to resist and we were able to.... [changes thought] Life, our history, demonstrated that we were able to resist until that entire situation began to change and a new era began. We have remained normal. We saw that the entire world was getting involved in internal affairs. We did not consider ourselves [words indistinct] revolutionary forces...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Castro] That is something else. All this began to change and a certain opening was made. A group of governments began to establish relations with us. It took awhile, but it was the era of Carlos Andres. It was the era of Carlos Andres [repeats himself]. Relations were established through pacts with several governments. Things began to get much better. Things began improving.

It started with the Caribbean countries: Jamaica, Trinidad, Torrijos in Panama, the revolutionary government of (Palvarado)—a group of military members in...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] They were in Peru.

[Castro] In Peru.

While those processes were occurring, ties were being established with Cuba and new relations of absolute respect were being created. These relations are based on such norms as non-intervention on the part of the Latin Americans. We had a vision of Latin America.

We saw our differences with the United States. We saw it as our adversary, the historic adversary of our people but we thought as Latin Americans. Latin America to us is like Cuba. Latin America is our great fatherland. We felt committed and obligated with the destiny and future of Latin America. What changed was our attitude. Our antagonistic attitude toward all governments later turned toward normalizing relations...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] To the point where you are now.

[Castro] They were automatic until we reached the situation where we are now.

[Bucaranda] I want to go back a little. Do you feel that this is the autumn of the patriach?

[Castro] I think that it is the spring of the patriarch.

[Bucaranda, laughing] You do. What does the patriarch do to remain in spring? Do you exercise, swim, fish? You recently spoke about catching lobster. You quit smoking. Some say that was because you had cancer. Others say because you want your people to be healthy. There is much speculation on what the patriarch does to remain in spring.

[Castro] I think it's mental exercise, mental work. The responsiblities that we have require the mind to make a great effort. It requires a great effort. I think that the mind, just like the body, needs exercise and it gets exercise through work. For example, I have a good memory of things, statistics, of everything. I have the same mental faculties that I had 30 years ago.

[Bucaranda] What about your physical condition?

[Castro] My physical condition is such that I could climb the same mountain I climbed 30 years ago. I would be capable of doing the same thing I did 30 years ago. I keep myself in very good condition. I also do that through physical exercise.

I think that man adapts himself to his task, his work. From a mental point of view, man also adapts himself to the circumstances in which he has to make a great mental effort, every day, at all hours.

[Bucaranda] You don't sleep, either.

[Castro] What do you mean I don't sleep?

[Bucaranda] They say you you receive everyone at dawn. All the Venezuelans say you received them at dawn. One time, (Consalio) [not further identified] knocked on you door early in the morning. More than one person has knocked on your door.

[Castro] It's just that I have no commitments at dawn. Everyone else is sleeping and we have more free time. However, I always make sure I get some sleep, sometimes more ...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] And you make a point of swimming.

[Castro] Yes, swimming is one of the exercises that I practice regularly. That is part of my physical exercise.

Let me tell you something. In my opinion, physical exercise not only benefits the body, it benefits the mind because regular physical exercise makes the blood circulate. It makes the blood flow and the oxygen gets to the last cells of the organs, including the cells in the (?brain). My observation is that physical exercise is good for the functioning of the mental capacities. The mind is exercised by the tasks to which it is exposed and I am constantly being exposed to tests, efforts. You have to keep the mind interested. Intelligence is constantly challenged.

It's like the boxer. If the boxer does not box, he makes no headway. He loses his skills. The politician who does not exercise his mind, who is not in the middle of the battle, in the middle of the debate, the controversy, also loses his skills.

[Bucaranda] They say that the man who does not make love also loses his faculties if he does not exercise them. There are many myths about you in regard to this, Commander.

[Castro] Well you know that you Venezuelans like myths. [laughter] If you stop and think about any one of the most beloved, [chuckles] famous, historical figures, you'll probably find that a lot of stories were invented about him.

[Bucaranda] You must have read Garcia Marquez' book then or you are at least reading Marquez' notes on Bolivar.

[Castro] How do you know? Did you see them, too?

[Bucaranda] Ah, well, no, but I have been informed. [chuckles]

[Castro] I have had the privilege that many times Garcia will call me after he finishes a novel. Before printing it, he does me the great honor of loaning me the material. I have read that book.

[Bucaranda] Is it a good book?

[Castro] I don't think it's... [changes thought] It's not a novel. It's a history in which he reconstructs dialogues based on Bolivarian thought. He put himself into Bolivarian thought. It's a profane history in the sense that he speaks with much liberty and about all things pertaining to Bolivar.

[Bucaranda] He talks about Bolivar.

[Castro] However, in my opinion, that book is one of the most beautiful tributes to Bolivar because it portrays Bolivar in all his grandeur, his political grandeur, his human grandeur, his outstanding qualities. It talks a lot about his personality. If it approaches one of these myths [interrupted by laughter] then it could only be written by Garcia Marquez.

He wrote a very interesting book. It is one of the books that I have most enjoyed and I have read a lot about Bolivar. Garcia Marquez' book impressed me very much.

Even though he may only talk about 10 days, the trip from Bogota down the Magdalena River, he reconstructs it all from Bolivarian thought. I think it's a great biography, a great history.

True history is not one that talks about anecdotes but of an essence. That book is very interesting and I think it will be of much interest. I'm telling you this because you asked me. I hear [words indistinct].

[Bucaranda] They say that you have girlfriends. Magazines have linked you with Sonia Braga and with Gina Lollobrigida. They say that you even gave Gina a clock because you collect clocks. Is that true?

[Castro] Those are all myths. I do not collect clocks.

[Bucaranda] Or women?

[Castro] How can I collect women? [laughter] It's impossible to collect them because you would have to share them among many collectors. [laughter]

[Bucaranda, laughing] [Words indistinct] girlfriends?

[Castro] Girlfriends do not (?come and go). Girlfriends and boyfriends should be the girlfriends and boyfriends of many.

[Bucaranda] We have gotten quite a bit off the track here and I would like to talk a little bit about detente, Commander. It seems that there is a willingness for a detente in the conflict, the problems, that exist between the United States and Cuba.

There has been much talk recently that there can be detente. Even U.S. commentators have said that the only alternative Bush has to go down in history is to reach an agreement, an understanding with Fidel Castro, an understanding with Castro. Reagan reached an understanding with the USSR's Mikhail Gorbachev, Nixon reached an understanding with China. [Words indistinct] as a black mark is the solution to the problem of Angola, Namibia, South Africa. All these things appear to show better intentions.

[Castro] It's just that there is a small difference. You have mentioned large countries, large powers in the world. They are military powers, economic powers. The United States is an antagonistic power. Cuba is a small Caribbean island with 10 million residents. It is not an economic power. It is not an adversary in the military territory. It cannot create a danger, a threat to the United States.

The beginning of relations between China and the United States was a historic event. The changes and improvement of relations between the USSR and the United States are historic events.

However, many people in the United States say that Cuba is not a large market. Cuba does not have the purchasing power that the Soviet Union has.

[Bucaranda] [Sentence indistinct]

[Castro] Yes. They say that it can't represent an economic interest which is truly a cynical argument. I would say that Cuba has been a moral, strong adversary of the United States and an adversary in the Third World. I think that the United States has acted against Cuba, a small country, but I also think that it has learned a lot in relation to Cuba.

Changes are occurring in the world. What does the improvement of U.S. relations with China signify? It shows that the United States has learned to coexist with revolutionary changes.

The improvement of relations with the USSR shows that the United States has learned to coexist with socialism and with revolutionary changes.

I think that one day the United States might also learn to coexist with the social changes that have occurred in Cuba. Now what would be historically significant is not a change in U.S. relations with Cuba, but a change of U.S. relations with Latin America because Latin America is a great power.

[Bucaranda] Cuba is included in that bloc.

[Castro] The United States is a superpower and we are part of Cuba. [sentence as heard] Do you understand? I believe that the improvement of U.S. relations with Cuba would be a smart move. This Goliath against David battle, this useless battle, this powerless battle, has shown that it has made us stronger and it has made them weaker. It is because of that obsession against Cuba that Cuba developed relations with the Third World. When Cuba was isolated from Latin America, it developed relations with Asia and Africa to the extent that Cuba got to chair the Nonaligned Movement composed of over 100 countries.

Now that our relations with Latin America have improved so much—Latin America is in our hemisphere, it is our family—Cuba's relations with the Third World are very broad, complete. Latin America used to be excluded and now Latin America is also included. But, to answer your question, I believe that what would really be historic would be a radical change of the U.S. approach toward Latin America, that it stop considering Latin America its [words indistinct], its property, its possession. That it respect Latin America's right for independence; its integration, which is so important; social changes Latin American countries may want to make in one way or another.

This would reserve the Bush administration a place in history. I believe that this is where he has a field of action. [words indistinct]

[Bucaranda, interrupting] You would be willing to help him on that.

[Castro] Of course. Well, not help Bush but help Latin America. [laughter]

[Bucaranda] Very well. Now, there has been much speculation on the changes in the Soviet Union, on the relations with you, with Cuba, on Soviet-Cuban relations. I remember that you, during a news conference in Quito, you were saying that...

[Castro, interrupting] Were you there?

[Bucaranda] No. I wasn't there but I was getting the news conference over the satellite. I reported some details of the news conference over the television station in the morning. I remember seeing over the satellite when you said, who were you going to blame if [words indistinct] said that Fidel Castro is the only one responsible for everything.

A lot was speculated here, and there is still speculation over Gorbachev's trip, on relations with the Soviet Union. They ask: If those people are opening to other winds, why has Cuba not opened to other winds? Why does Cuba not want to open?

[Castro] It is not a matter of Cuba not wanting to open up. In reality, the Soviets are looking for ways to solve their problems. We are looking for ways to solve our problems.

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Sentence indistinct]

[Castro] The Soviet experience is totally different than ours. Things happened in the Soviet Union that have not happened in Cuba. I believe that our revolution, which is seeking the goals of socialism, has been an original and creative revolution. It interpreted theory and political doctrine in its own way. So, when the Soviets are looking for solutions to their problems, they are doing it from their own experiences and the problems they have had. It would be a long thing to explain and it would take a lot of time.

Their agrarian reform was different from the one we did. They had the problems of Stalinism. It was a problem that lasted a long time. They lived experiences that were a product of the country's culture. It is a country which had been subjected for centuries to a feudal system, to an absolutist system [words indistinct], a very stratified society, a very hierarchical society [words indistinct] totally different. The way the Soviet revolution came about does not resemble at all the way in which the Cuban Revolution came about. Our idiosyncracies are different. We are Latins; we are from the Caribbean; we have a different psychology, a different mentality. We (?are) in the middle of the West. The way in which we have carried out a political process responds to our country's special characteristics.

[Bucaranda] Commander, how is Cuba going to open up? Is Cuba going to open up a little bit more or not? You have been asked about a little more democracy. This is what the people ask. You have been asked about holding a plebiscite. You already talked about this. People talk about the possibility for Cubans to be able to leave the country and all these things. These continue to be points that we are asked about. I imagine that democracy in Cuba ... [rephrases] people say, here, Commander Castro is seeing democracy at work.

[Castro] Do you want more democracy than the one you and I are practicing now? [Words indistinct]

[Bucaranda] [laughter] No.

[Castro] I have been [words indistinct] you are asking about everything and I am very pleased to answer you in the same way I have always done. My dialogue with you is the kind of dialogue I have with all the people of Cuba. It is a different style. It was always very broad. We always had to carry out a work of—I would say—political education among our people. Our people were full of prejudices during McCarthyism, antisocialism, anticommunism. There was terrible confusion in a way; unfortunately, it still exists in many countries. We had to carry out an educational work. The only way we could do this was to have a constant dialogue. It is not a matter that we thought of in a certain way or that we interpreted things in a certain way. We had to make efforts so that all the people had an interpretation [of the revolution] and a consciousness.

Therefore, the extremely close ties that were created between leader and people do not exist at such a high level in other types of societies than the one that exists in Cuba. If not, how would we be able to survive? The United States had the country indoctrinated. Cuba was the most anticommunist country in Latin America. It is incredible. The country that identified the most with the U.S. culture was Cuba. It wasn't like Venezuela.

I studied in a university of 15,000 students. The number of anti-imperialists did not reach 30. I remember that I arrived in Venezuela for the first time in 1947, after the triumph of Romulo Gallegos. I had the honor of greeting him in his home in La Guaira. I was a modest student. Imagine how open-minded that man was. He received a small group of students in La Guaira. I met here with Venezuelan students and I found that the were were radical anti-imperialist students. It did not resemble Cuba one bit. At that time, U.S. influence had grown so much in Cuba that it had even lost the progressive, renovating, anti-imperialist spirit it had had in the 30's.

I went to Panama and I found anti-imperialist students. I went to Bogota and I found [words indistinct] anti-imperialist spirit. Our students were not even from the left. The revolution is ...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] You were in Bogota during the time of the Gaitanazo?

[Castro] Not the Gaitanazo, the Bogotazo, which resulted from the death of [Jorge Eliezer] Gaitan. We were organizing—you make me recount too much history—a Latin American students' congress. We were working on that. At that time, I was not a socialist yet. I had not gotten a socialist education. I already had my ideas. They were very progressive. At that time it included the struggle against Trujillo, the struggle against dictatorships in Latin America. I forgot to mention, that coincided with the first honeymoon between the Venezuelan Government and Cuba. We had a common mission on how to help to free the Dominican people from the Trujillo tyranny. We even had some things in common at the time. I forgot to mention it because I gave you a very quick overview of the history.

We were organizing a Latin American students' congress. We had contacted Gaitan and he was helping us. Gaitan had dazzled us with his progressive views, with

his oratory. As I told you, we supported independence for Puerto Rico, the return of the canal to Panama, the struggle against dictatorships in Latin America, the end of colonialism in Latin America, and the return of the Malvinas Islands. At that time, even the Peronists were helping with the organization of the congress because they had their dispute with the Malvinas. Our little progressive and democratic program was not socialist yet. We had not advanced that much. Life is a process from the time one is born and [words indistinct] until one [words indistinct] conviction and a political doctrine. I was there. I experienced the time [words indistinct] joined immediately the people.

I joined a column that was going to take over a police station. It was a miracle that I wasn't killed. We ended up armed. All I could...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Shoot.

[Castro] No, not shoot. All I could get were 13 bullets. I did use some of them to shoot. I joined the people in the most Quixote-like way. I won't talk to you about it because there is a book written by (Alape) which refers to that and I don't want to take up your time on this.

[Bucaranda] Commander, you are noting that the anti-imperialism feeling did not exist in Cuba. Could you [words indistinct]?

[Castro] [Words indistinct] You should think about the following. It is impossible for a revolution to continue 30 years facing the United States if there is not a total identification between the revolution and the people, between the government and the people.

[Bucaranda, interrupting] This is why it [words indistinct]...

[Castro, interrupting] In my view, the people participate so much in our country that we consider it a superior form of democracy. What kind of democracy do you usually find in many countries? As I have told Americans, what kind of equality can there be in the United States between the beggar and the millionaire? Those are all stories, fibs. It would take long if we started to debate on this.

This is all a matter of perceptions. From our point of view, the traditional participation of our people through our mass organizations, millions of people who participate not only in political and work issues but who also participate in the defense of the revolution.... [leaves sentence unfinished] We have millions of citizens who are organized and armed. They are our strength. This is what we call the war of all the people in case there is an invasion. We have not done this as a sport. We have done it because a very powerful adversary, which is the United States, threatens us. In our view, the participation of our people in our country is a higher form of participation [corrects himself] of democracy which is superior to the one that can exist in a class society.

[Bucaranda] The fact that you noted, commander, that there was no anti-imperialism in Cuba—this had to cost a lot to be able to carry out a revolution such as yours. It cost many lives. We remember—I was only 12-years-old when you went to Caracas in that plane—that people started to talk about the famous firing squad and said Fidel just killed, killed, and killed.

[Castro] Killed, killed, and killed.

[Bucaranda] That is right. [laughs]

[Castro] What an idea. All we have done is save, save, and save. If you figure out the number of lives that have been saved in our country by the education and health systems, the revolution has saved hundreds of thousands of lives. The revolution saves lives. It also has its price. You have asked me so many questions that sometimes...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] We go off the subject but, it cost many lives.

[Castro] When we speak of anti-imperialism, I want to tell you that this created a system of permanent contact between the leaders and the people so they could understand each other, to explain each thing. This gives you an idea of the ethics. We had to change the mentality of a society in which the anti-imperialist sport had disappeared. Now, this was maintained...

[Bucaranda] But it cost many lives, commander.

[Castro] There was a communist party which had a small consciousness but it struggled with the workers. It had an anti-imperialist consciousness and maintained... [rephrases] It was a group that was pretty isolated by McCarthyism and the anti-communist spirit. The masses did not have this consciousness. This created a style of government of constant identification between the people and the revolution, in the ideas of relation between the leaders and those who are led, or the relation between the people and the leader. Now, you said it cost many lives.

[Bucaranda] Many lives.

[Castro] What cost us more lives was the struggle against Batista. Estimates indicate there were 20,000. This could be a bit of an exaggeration but thousands and thousands were killed—not in combat, but many of them were killed by the regime.

[Bucaranda] But...

[Castro, interrupting] Later the revolution had a very difficult struggle. Well, yes, the Bay of Pigs invasion. How many lives did it cost us? The Bay of Pigs cost us 150 lives. It was organized in the United States. It was a mercenary mission paid and trained by the United States.

[Bucaranda] But your revolution had to have cost lives.

[Castro] Yes, it cost lives because a very difficult fight took place, a life or death fight. We had the revolutionary laws...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Fatherland or death. I remember that.

[Castro] We said: Fatherland or death, because we were willing to die. We were willing to make the necessary sacrifices. We had our revolutionary laws.

Those who were [words indistinct] firing squad were the people who [words indistinct] tortures during the Batista regime. They were sentenced according to the laws that had been passed even before the triumph of the revolution. They were passed from the Sierra Maestra [words indistinct] we don't want people to be dragged into the streets; trust the revolution; justice will be done according to laws and tribunals.

[Bucaranda] Commander...

[Castro, interrupting] A long struggle began later. The United States attempted to destroy the revolution. We had to defend ourselves. The greatest loss of lives took place during the struggle against Batista. Fortunately... [changes thought] If the United States had invaded and if the Bay of Pigs invasion had been successful and they had secured a beachhead with the help of the OAS, this would have had cost hundreds of lives [corrects himself] hundreds of thousands of lives to our people but our people would not have surrendered.

[Bucaranda] Commander, the message Cuba has had for many years during its revolution is the success in the area of health, nutrition, and schools. It is said that everyone eats...

[Castro, interrupting] And in science. [Words indistinct] the equal distribution of resources...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Commander, but basically what the revolution sells a lot is health, science, technology, hospitals, sports...

[Castro, interrupting] This could not have been achieved without economic development. You cannot have 31,000 doctors in the country; you cannot have almost 300,000 people working in the field of health, if economic development has not been reached. You cannot reduce the infant mortality rate to 1.9, the illiteracy index to 1.5, and you cannot improve health conditions. You cannot find a malnourished child in Cuba. You cannot find a beggar. You cannot have this if a level of economic development was reached [sentence as received]

[Bucaranda] Well, president, but development has been limited. How will you boost the new process? That is, what new things does Fidel Castro have to impose now in Cuba to reach a level of development, to advance toward...

[Castro, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Bucaranda] It already achieved all this?

[Castro] [Words indistinct] reached certain development levels.

[Bucaranda] But it has reached a standstill. I believe you are opening sources for foreign participation. You have been developing tourism and other industries with other countries.

[Castro] Yes, we want to make our economy a more efficient one. We have to maximize our resources. What we are doing is trying to maximize because, as you well know, development is a very difficult task. No one else knows it better than Venezuela because despite its enormous resources... [leaves sentence unfinished] Development has new demands. For us, development is to close the gap between the developed capitalist world, the developed world in general [corrects himself] and the underdeveloped world. We have already closed the gap in many things. We have social indexes that are at the same level or above those of industrialized countries.

This requires a material economic base. We have grown at an average rate of over 4 percent in 30 years. This is seen in some productions. We produce 5 times as much cement, 5 times as much fertilizers, 7.7 times as much electric power...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] But you haven't opened the door to foreign participation.

[Castro] But that is not enough. It is not enough for anyone because we have done many things in these 30 years. You realize each day that more things need to be done. The road to development is endless. Development is more difficult under current conditions with the current economic order that exists in the world. with unequal trade, protectionism, and the debt. All these are factors that make development of Third World countries terribly difficult. This is the great challenge, the great battle; it is why leaders make efforts; it is why Carlos Andres Perez makes efforts; it is why Mexicans are making efforts. It is the same thing that Salinas mentioned during his inauguration; it is the same thing that Carlos Andres mentioned. We are all waging the battle of development [words indistinct]...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Castro, interrupting] We need to see how we can solve the difficulties. We, for example, find that tourism can be for us what oil is for you. This is due to the excellent beaches we have, because of the magnificent natural resources, and because of the atmosphere of safety and health we have in the country.

We have hundreds of kilometers of natural sites to develop.

[Bucaranda] You are already developing them?

[Castro] We are beginning to develop them.

[Bucaranda] With the participation of Spain?

[Castro] With various countries. We have even accepted the concept of joint enterprises in the field of tourism, enterprises between capitalists and the Cuban State.

[Bucaranda] Commander, so that it does not appear that you are infallible and since you recently were remembering Salinas de Gortari who also said: We cannot continue making mistakes, we cannot make more mistakes, what mistakes has Fidel Castro made?

[Castro] We have made various mistakes in the economic field. As I have defined it, we also at one point made mistakes of idealism. We wanted to jump historic stages. In correcting the mistakes of idealism, we made mistakes of creating small tradesmen, mistakes of mercantilism. All this...

[Bucaranda] Small tradesmen?

[Castro] Yes, I call it like this in a negative way to avoid the term mercantilism. There were economic mistakes. We made mistakes in attempting to rectify our idealism mistakes. We copied traditional procedures and methods from socialist countries. We later discovered their weaknesses. All this led us to what we call the rectification process. We have made [words indistinct] mistakes, strategic mistakes. I would say we have made tactical mistakes instead of strategic mistakes.

[Bucaranda] Another important point regarding everything that is said about Fidel Castro is religion—the famous book written by Frei Betto, which has sold a lot of copies. There have been speculations and talks that religion returned to Cuba, that you did this, that you are Catholic, that you are a Christian, that you believe in God, and that you were educated by the Jesuits. All this is part of many myths surrounding Fidel Castro.

Another is that there is the possibility that Pope John Paul II may go to Cuba, and that you may even allow more freedom in the religious area.

[Castro] What is religious freedom?

[Bucaranda] Words indistinct.

[Castro] Let me tell you something. In Frei Betto's book I explain everything I think about this. I criticized [words indistinct] with a lot of frankness and I also admit all the good things. I explained how I was educated, that it was dogmatic, and how they were not able to make a believer out of me. [Words indistinct] very superficial. I have always had a lot of respect for religion, a lot of consideration.

If you analyze the radical histories, the social revolutions in the world in the last centuries, they were all very traumatic. Many times there were serious conflicts between the revolution and religion. This happened in the French Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Mexican Revolution, and the Latin American Revolution. Remember that there were conflicts. If you read Bolivar's biography and history you will find that there were times when there were serious conflicts with the church. [Words indistinct] Spain. [Words indistinct] many priests, Morelos, Hidalgo were priests who even led the fighting. There was a little bit of everything.

[Bucaranda] Today we also have liberation theology.

[Castro] [Words indistinct] in the history of Venezuela. There were those kinds of conflicts. Ours were not as big. They were minimal. You cannot say that a single priest was executed in Cuba. It did not happen. It didn't happen in all those revolutions in which there were big conflicts.

[Bucaranda] It didn't happen in yours either.

[Castro] No priests were executed in ours. On the very few occasions in which they were punished because of counterrevolutionary activities, such as the case of those who came in the Bay of Pigs invasion, they were sentenced for short periods of time. We have been ... [rephrases] there has been no other revolution which has been more careful of the religious problem than the Cuban Revolution. We never wanted ...

[Bucaranda, interrupting] That education must have left something.

[Castro, interrupting] Yes, the message of the Christian teaching. I believe that we received the Christian ethic and those values are permanent ones.

The history of the church is a very revolutionary one. How did Christianity begin? The communists of Roman times were Christians.

They were thrown to the lions. They were killed until an emperor became a Christian. Then Christianity became the official church. There were very important changes.

One of the most beautiful and humane revolutionary histories is that of Christianity. We read that history. I compare the social, humane, and Christian preachings a lot to the revolution. I could say that many of the parables of Christ can be....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Applied.

[Castro] ...applied in practice. Even the miracle of the fish and bread being multiplied—this is what we want to do so that there is fish, bread, and wine for all. The influence does exist. We have always treated this very carefully. No church has ever been closed in Cuba. Churches are open in Cuba.

[Bucaranda] And people are going to them?

[Castro] Well, they can go. We don't lose sleep over this. It does not worry us. If the church teaches them to be an honest citizen, a citizen [words indistinct] against stealing, against corruption, and if they practice all the commandments of the Bible and God, we are pleased. Thou shall not steal; thou shall not kill; thou shall not covet thy neighbor's wife; thou shall not do many things.

[Bucaranda] You forgot the one that says: Thou shall not commit adultery. [laughter]

[Castro] Well, I did not mention that one because it is a more relative thing. It depends with whom.

[Bucaranda] You are completely right, Commander. [chuckles] There has been much talk that Pope John Paul could go to Cuba. Would you receive him there?

[Castro] Well, yes. We would receive him with respect, with hospitality. We have let him know this. The position on this has been very well defined. We made a statement. We consider the pope... [rephrases] not only Catholics in Cuba consider the pope... [rephrases] want the pope to go to Cuba. The pope is not only respected by Catholics in Cuba but also by all the citizens in our country. He is considered a prominent figure who has a lot of influence in the problems of today's world. I said this publicly. I said it would be a great honor for me to talk to him about many of the hot subjects. I have been in contact with the pope. I [words indistinct] the foreign debt material that was discussed in Cuba. I forwarded him all the statements made in 1985. I have kept him informed of our problems.

The support of the church is advisable for the Third World in this battle for the new economic order, in this battle against the debt, and this battle for development. I have made a public statement. The statement was well received by the Cuban Catholic Church and was well received by the Vatican. We have relations of respect. We have said that when he decides to come to our country he will be received with hospitality and respect.

[Bucaranda] What about Gorbachev's visit? It is said here that the Armenian earthquake saved you from a confrontation with Gorbachev, that perhaps relations with the Soviet Union are going to be very difficult and tense. Is there any truth to this?

[Castro] I hope you can interview Gorbachev some day.

[Bucaranda] I want to do that. If you help me, I'll do it. Help me. You are the best person I can find to get it for me.

[Castro] You don't have to be a good mediator. I don't like to be a mediator to get interviews because I know what interviews involve for each politician. It is a commitment, work; there is the risk of making a mistake—all those things. I don't like to do that kind of favor to friends.... [chuckles] to political friends. In any case, it could be done for journalist friends.

[Bucaranda] [laughter] This is what I was asking for.

[Castro] If you met Gorbachev you would say: What an open-minded man. What a fresh imagination he has. My conversations with him have always been excellent. I can bring up any problem to him with a lot of frankness.

[Bucaranda] Better than with other Soviet leaders?

[Castro] Yes, better. Actually, the conditions for communication have been better than with any other. The others treated us a little more paternalistically. It was unavoidable. We were young and inexperienced revolutionaries. Gorbachev treats me as an equal, with a lot of consideration, without any type of paternalism, and with a lot of frankness. We have talked about many problems. On the contrary, however we may have to discuss difficult problems or have questions on matters....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Such as what? About the loss of Soviet aid, that they don't have enough money to continue giving you?

[Castro] We have not had problems on that.

[Bucaranda] No?

[Castro] No. Although structural changes can make our trade more difficult, there are no problems of that type.

I have already met with him and with other secretaries. They already know my views about, for example, the Olympics.

[Bucaranda] [Words indistinct].

[Castro] That we did not go. They knew about it. I said we had the duty of solidarity with.... [changes thought] I presented my thesis of struggling [words indistinct].

[Bucaranda] But you have been left alone sometimes. You have waged your battles alone.

[Castro] Bolivar was left alone many times. I do not want to compare myself to him or anything like that, but if there is an example of a man who was left alone many times, it is Bolivar....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Tell me....

[Castro, interrupting] Men who are left alone and persevere are the ones who triumph.

[Bucaranda] I had been waiting months for this interview. [laughter]

[Castro] You are a persevering man.

I was telling you that any subject can be discussed with Gorbachev with complete freedom and frankness. I like him a lot. I have always been very satisfied with my conversations with him.

[Bucaranda] Will the Soviets put up with Gorbachev? Isn't Gorbachev in danger of losing power because of those reforms?

[Castro] Imagine, you are asking me.... [changes thought] We hope that Gorbachev will be able to carry out his plans, his political goals. His political goals are to boost economic development, technical and scientific development of the USSR, of getting out of the stagnation by using certain points of view and certain economic reforms.

[Bucaranda] But he asked socialist countries to develop their own perestroyka and their own glasnost.

[Castro] One should develop its....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] According to its circumstances.

[Castro] Each one should apply the adequate remedy to its own illnesses. If your corns hurt, you are not going to use a remedy for a toothache.

[Bucaranda] [laughter] All of a sudden I got a cavity in my toe [words indistinct].

[Castro] [Words indistinct] one of the things we want the most is for the USSR to succeed.

[Bucaranda] With whom has it been more difficult for Fidel Castro to talk among all the Soviet leaders? Brezhnev?

[Castro] There have been so many.

[Bucaranda] [Sentence indistinct]

[Castro] First of all, the most difficult dialogues I have had have been with U.S. presidents. There were many. With the Soviets, there was a dialogue with (?Khrushchev) that had its peculiarities.

[Bucaranda] A summit meeting?

[Castro] Another one with [words indistinct] who was in power for a short period. We met Chernenko before. He was friendly with us. But the most difficult one... [rephrases] I would not say that there was one that was especially difficult. Perhaps it was a little more difficult with Brezhnev. Perhaps. Especially in the last stage—not in the first stage. The first time I met Brezhnev he was chairman of the Supreme Soviet and not general secretary of the party. This was in 1963. [Words indistinct] personal. Time went by and with time he began—in my judgment—to lose his faculties. It became more difficult to communicate with him.

[Bucaranda] The Brezhnev government has been accused of corruption. Even a son-in-law was involved in this rotten chain. How have you dealt with corruption in Cuba?

[Castro] I will tell you that....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] Is corruption a serious problem for the revolution?

[Castro] At certain levels. I would say that they are at the level of store administration, and the like. We have really had very few cases at the level of leaders, officials, ministers, those levels. I tell you that there are very strong values. When you establish a pretty equal society, the society is extremely sensitive to any privilege, or anything. In a society where there are millionaires, middle class, workers, and even beggars, corruption begins to appear as a natural thing. People don't like it but they get used to it. When you have a social revolution and establish very high levels of equality—although, of course, there is no total equalitarianism because some have higher salaries and others have lower salaries—society is very intolerant.

A minister getting wealthy, a minister stealing, a leader or party cadre stealing and getting wealthy is [words indistinct] totally inconceivable. That is not conceivable. [Words indistinct] in public funds management and construction unfortunately is something pretty generalized because they were habits that were taught, practices and idiosyncrasies that were created. I would say that one of the great victories of the revolution is to eradicate that mentality from our people. As I said, a leader, a cadre getting wealthy is inconceivable. There are a lot of people managing things. There are tens and tens of thousands of people managing things. Some here and others there. Sometimes they do not steal but they use resources improperly.

[Bucaranda] And they are punished?

[Castro] Well, we sanction, and above all we strongly combat everything that.... [changes thought] The people managing may want to throw a party because the enterprise is beginning to operate and that sort of thing. We are opposed to resources being diverted, to use resources for something else when they are meant for another thing. Of course laws against all crimes of embezzlement of funds are strict. You must realize—well, I don't want to talk about any grocer [words indistinct]—that, for example, if in a private store the grocer takes away an ounce of the product, he is the one who is doing it, this is a habit. If this is done by someone who is managing a grocery store, he is committing [words indistinct]. That is, the situation is not [words indistinct]. In capitalism, many people manage what they own. In socialism, there are many people managing the property of the people. They are not owners. If they use any of those resources they manage, it is considered a crime.

Since there are tens and tens of thousands of people managing things, some corruption cases may occur at those levels but they are inconceivable at the middle levels and especially the high levels of.... [leaves sentence unfinished]

[Bucaranda] How have you found Caracas? How have you found this city?

[Castro] I haven't been able to see it.

[Bucaranda] What do you think of what you have seen from your hotel?

[Castro] I haven't been able to see it, I haven't been able to see it [repeats himself]. I arrived at night and all I have seen is the little part from my hotel. When I have moved... [rephrases] I haven't been able to move around. I have had to be a prisoner of this hotel. You know that.

[Bucaranda] You have met with many leaders. I would like to end the interview by, first, thanking you and, second, asking you, with which of these leaders of today, the ones you have had the chance to talk to, have you had a better relation? You had a great affinity with Felipe Gonzalez. I know you have met several times with Carlos Andres Perez and with other leaders from around the world. Which one did you have more affinity with?

[Castro] You set me up to discriminate against the others.

[Bucaranda] No. I believe that even Jimmy Carter talked with you. Well, all....

[Castro, interrupting] I found him at the reception and I greeted him.

[Bucaranda] He was blamed for the famous Mariel and all that. It was said that that man lost the elections because of you.

[Castro] No, I believe that other things influenced.... [changes thought] Inflation was the decisive factor, economic factors....

[Bucaranda, interrupting] You are on top of what happens everywhere. Do you still have your satellite dish?

[Castro] The matter of the hostages in Iran.

[Bucaranda] I am hearing everything.

[Castro] Especially, the humiliation Vietnam meant for the United States. All that was used by.... [changes thought] Mariel could have had a very little influence. In addition, we solved the Mariel problem before the elections. We were the ones who stopped it because we didn't want to harm Carter. This is the truth.

[Bucaranda] [Sentence indistinct]

[Castro] [Words indistinct] I met Carlos Andres very young. Later came the period we referred to. We were adversaries and you can see what good relations were developed later. We appreciate very much what he did to improve relations with Cuba when he was president. We appreciated, very much, what he did to attempt to punish those who were guilty of sabotaging the Cuban plane. He always maintained the position of [words indistinct]. He won our appreciation. You see that my relations with Carlos Andres are now excellent. See how life changes. I am very pleased with it.

[Bucaranda] You have both changed.

[Castro] Carlos Andres once told me that I had changed and I told him: You have also changed. Deep down the two of us are still the same. Isn't this true?

Yesterday they were talking to me about young leaders and I mentioned Carlos Andres among the young leaders. I said he was young forever. Isn't this true? Haven't you seen him traveling and moving around the world with tremendous energy? Haven't you seen how he has been working these days? One has to take off his hat in admiration of Carlos Andres' ability to work.

[Bucaranda] President, I thank you very much for these moments you have given us, for this time. I am very happy for having been able to interview you.

[Castro] I also thank you. I think that, pressured by time, you have asked millions of questions and we have had to improvise all kinds of answers. Perhaps a more leisurely interview would have been better, with more time. Maybe this could be done some day.

[Bucaranda] In Havana?

[Castro] [Words indistinct] considering the circumstances and short period of time we have had, I believe we could not have done anything else. Thank you very much.

[Bucaranda] Thank you, Commander. I hope relations with our country get better and better.

[Castro] Thank you very much.

Approval of Resolution 435 Termed 'Triumph'

FL1702023389 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] A PRENSA LATINA report states that Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada considers the unanimous decision adopted today by the UN Security Council to be a triumph of the nonaligned countries. The Security Council ratified the Positions of Principles of the UN plan on Namibia's independence.

After a complex and prolonged process of negotiations that began last December, the council, in a very clear manner, approved the application of Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence in its original and final form.

The United States tried, up until the last moment, to modify that aspect of Resolution 632 [as heard], which was sanctioned this Thursday. However, since the rest of the council members were in agreement, the United States conceded and joined the unanimous vote.

On this occasion, said Alarcon, the nonaligned countries demonstrated their ability to concentrate their action on an international level and to act in a coherent fashion and with mutual solidarity. We have demonstrated, said Alarcon, that the nonaligned countries, are a force that must be reckoned with and that it was indispensable to the other Security Council factors to negotiate with the nonaligned countries and finally reach a solution which, in our opinion, is acceptable. The nonaligned countries, with their firm resistance to attempts to modify the plan on the independence of Namibia, said Alarcon, have attained the ratification of the United Nations' Positions of Principles.

This makes it clear, stressed the Cuban vice foreign minister, that any alteration or violation of the original plan, which could lead to problems, would be a tremendous responsibility which would fall upon those who doubted the loyalty of the international organization to its original commitment. What has to be determined now, said Alarcon, is how this process will be carried out. If those who tried to modify the plan and who raised objections—supposedly financial—to weaken the presence of the United Nations in Namibia, create obstacles again in the future, they will assume a tremendous responsibility and history will demand they answer for it, said Alarcon.

Correction to Sugar Production Below Average

FL1702033189

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Sugar Production Centers Operating Below Average," published in the 16 February Latin America DAILY REPORT, page 6:

page 6, column two, line three, make read: ...hold first place in afterproduct [sugar extracted from the sugarcane juice after it has been processed, known as "recobrado"] production with a rate....(rewording)

same paragraph, last line, make read: ...have been champions in afterproduct production. [new paragraph]

In the mechanized...(rewording)

Dominica

Taiwan To Provide Development Assistance

FL1602213089 Bridgetown CANA in English 2100 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, Feb 16, CANA—Taiwan is to provide assistance to Dominica in the areas of industrial development, tourism, and fisheries, says minister for agriculture, trade, industry and tourism, Charles Maynard. Maynard told a news conference here that in a recent visit to Taiwan, he held talks with government officials on possible assistance in these areas, and was optimistic that they would benefit from some form of technical assistance.

Dominica is making a bid to attract Taiwanese investors to set up garment industries here to take advantage of the nearby U.S. market and the duty-free concessions under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

Maynard said he was aware of allegations of exploitation of local workers by a foreign-owned textile company, and has made it clear that, although seeking necessary investment to boost the country's employment prospects, the government wanted to ensure the local labour force enjoyed a reasonable wage. He said the Taiwanese had been told about government's position and understood they would have to pay fair wages.

A Taiwanese business mission is expected to call on OECS [Organization of Eastern Caribbean States] countries by September to assess investment prospects.

In the area of tourism, Dominica has been attempting to penetrate the Taiwanese market through the multi-destinational approach, and Maynard said talks in Taiwan centered on the two countries developing a joint tourism promotional effort.

Maynard said, too, that Dominica hoped the Taiwanese would provide training in the area of commercial fishing.

Grenada

Jones 'Preoccupied' With Work of Government

FL1602221889 Bridgetown CANA in English 2201 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] St Georges, Grenada, Feb 16, CANA—Grenada's Deputy Prime Minister Ben Jones says he is more preoccupied with the work of government than seeking to replace Prime Minister Herbert Blaize.

"For the time being I am concentrating on the work to be done," said Jones, a close ally of Blaize.

Since the government took office in 1984, Jones has often been tipped as the person most likely to replace Blaize, who, because of illness, has been restricted in recent times to running the government from his official residence at Mt Royal. But at last month's party convention, Public Utilities Minister Dr Keith Mitchell made a bold move and replaced Blaize as political leader of the ruling New National Party (NNP) in a party election.

"I am doing what I can to help ensure that our party wins the next elections, and I would allow the matter of my own position to be determined later," Jones said. Jones stated that it is even too early to predict whether Mitchell would eventually replace Blaize as prime minister.

"The person who is the political leader is normally, at the end of an election, the person invited to be the next prime minister so if everything holds, I would expect Keith Mitchell to be the next prime minister, but, as I said, (there) is a long time between now and then so I couldn't say who will be the next prime minister," he said.

NNP insiders have told CANA that some people who do not support Mitchell have urged Blaize to call elections only after another party convention. These, the sources say, are advocating a convention for December, with an attempt to retake the party leadership.

Haiti

Forum Opens To Establish Electoral Institution

FL1302155089 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] The president of the military government, Lieutenant General Prosper Avril, yesterday opened, in the presence of 28 heads of political parties and officials of union and socioprofessional organizations, a national forum. The objective of this forum is to set up a permanent electoral institution that will be responsible for the next general elections in Haiti.

Our colleague Morisson Charles was at the Legislative Palace yesterday.

[Begin Charles recording] The national forum began today, Thursday [9 February], at approximately 1055 at the Legislative Palace, with the presentation of the members of the forum's provisional bureau [biro], which consisted of lawyer (Alcan Dormeus), a Justice Department director, as chairman; and Mrs (Michel Cesar Jumelle), a Justice Ministry official, as secretary.

Twenty-eight organizations accepted the invitation the government extended to them last month. Among these 28 organizations, the union federations are CATH-/CLAT [Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers affiliated with the Latin-American Central Organization of Workers], FOS [Federation of Syndicated Workers], and OJTH [expansion not provided].

The [socioprofessional] associations are: MOVELH [Volunteer Movement for Free and Honest Elections], IHRED [International Research and Development Institute of Haiti], and the Association of Former Members of the Haitian Armed Forces.

The political parties are: PSCH [Haitian Social Christian Party], headed by Gregoire Eugene; Union for the Revival of Haiti, headed by Edouard Francisque; MIDH [Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti], headed by Marc Bazin; National Union of Democratic Forces, headed by Lamartiniere Honorat; MDELH [-PRDH] [Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Haiti/Democratic Revolutionary Party of Haiti], headed by Francois Latortue; Party of [National] Unity for Development, headed by (Wesler Pierre-Louis); National Party for the Defense of the Workers, headed by (Arnold Dumas) [party and leader's names as heard]; Liaison of the Democratic Forces, headed by Daniel Narcisse; PUCH [Unified Party of Haitian Communists], headed by Rene Theodore; MDU [Movement for Democratic Unity], headed by Maurepas Auguste; Panpra [Nationalistic and Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti], headed by Serges Gilles; MNP-28 [National Patriotic Movement of 28 November], headed by Dejean Belizaire; UNDDDH [National Union for the Defense of Democracy and Human Rights], headed by Jocelyn Beauchard; Haitian Party of God, headed by Reverend [Vladimir] Jeanty; Genuine National Party [PAN], headed by Serge Beaulieu; National Rally Party; Alliance for the Rebirth [of Haiti]; Progressive Parliamentary Democratic Party; OCPRH [expansion not provided]; Peace and Justice for all Mankind [Paix, Justice Pour l'Humanite Toute Entiere]; Charlemagne Peralte National Liberation Front; and National Labor Party [PNT].

This makes 3 unions, 2 associations, and 23 [figure as heard] political parties.

The provisional bureau proceeded to the election of the definitive bureau, as stipulated in the decree. This is where the different delegates began (?getting irritated), nominating one another as candidates to the chairmanship of the definitive bureau. (Duly Brutus) of Panpra

nominated (Wesler Pierre-Louis) of the PUND, who agreed to run for the office. Mr Gregoire Eugene nominated Mr Francois Latortue, who did not accept the nomination. Serge Beaulieu of the PAN nominated Lamartiniere Honorat, who did not accept the nomination either.

Finally, they came up with two candidates for the chairmanship: (Wesler Pierre-Louis) and Jocelyn Beauchard. (Pierre-Louis) won the election. He got 22 out of 24 votes.

We must also point out that before this, (Pierre-Louis) had withdrawn his candidacy because he did not want to run against Beauchard, whom he said had not been at all correct in the positions he had been taking recently.

Only later did he again accept his being a candidate to that position, at the request of Gregoire Eugene. [sentence as heard]

Next they came up with two candidates for the position of bureau secretary general: (Sina Josly) of the Charlemagne Peralte [National Liberation] Front and (Mercelin Etienne) of the PNT. (Etienne) won.

The forum's definitive bureau was at last formed, with Dr (Wesler Pierre-Louis) as chairman; (Mercelin Etienne) as secretary general; and lawyer (Yves Pegaro) chosen by the executive as rapporteur in conformity with Articles 10 and 11 of the 30 January decree.

At around 1325, Haitian President Prosper Avril appeared. In his speech opening the forum, he said he was very satisfied with the movement. He stressed that this was the first time a military government asked all sectors concerned to act together with the government in making decisions.

After a 1-hour break [preceding word in English], they resumed work at around 1530. The second part of the workday revolved around the forum's [internal] regulations.

The rapporteur proposed three points: that the working hours be 0900 to noon and 1400 to 1800; that only the heads of delegations be allowed to take the floor; and that speakers be given a maximum of 5 minutes in which to talk.

There was much discussion, and many proposals were made. Regarding the working hours, they finally adopted Dejean Belizaire's proposal that they work from 0900 to 1500, with a 30-minute break from 1200 to 1230.

The second proposal adopted was Rene Theodore's proposal regarding the length of time a speaker could talk. Instead of 5 minutes, they decided to give speakers 10 minutes.

They are going to work every day except Sunday, as proposed by Gregoire Eugene.

The first day of the national forum ended at around 1800, on the following question, which is to be discussed in the forum. Some of the delegates—for example, Rene Theodore—asked that a number of problems essential to Haiti be discussed. Others want the forum to discuss only the formation of an electoral institution. They did not have time to reach a final decision on this matter.

We must point out that the cabinet, which was present in the morning, was absent in the afternoon. Today's [9 February] discussions were dominated by PUCH leader Rene Theodore and a few leaders from whom not much has been heard for some time, such as Gregoire Eugene, who was the former general's [Namphy's] private adviser.

This national forum, which is being held with a view to setting up an institution to handle elections in Haiti, is going to continue tomorrow, Friday [10 February] at the Legislative Palace. [end recording]

Neighborhood Committees Demand Leaders' Release

FL1602191089 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The coordinating body for 17 neighborhood committees in Port-au-Prince is calling for the quick and unconditional release of Rockefeller Guerre and (Sylvan Jolibois). The committees are asking for guarantees and security for Auguste Mesyeux, Gabriel Miracle, (Idli Cameau), Eddy Volel, and all the others—that these men be allowed to circulate freely in Haiti; and that what happened to Charlot Jacquelin [a Communist Misyon Alfa teacher who disappeared under the National Government Council] not happen to them. After all, it was not they who went and burned down Saint Jean Bosco Church on 11 September 1988 or committed any of a number of vile acts in Haiti, say the committees.

The committees also call for the resignation of General Prosper Avril, because, they say, it is he who is responsible for the Haitian people's extreme poverty and who is incapable of implementing a solution to the problems the country is experiencing. [passage omitted]

The press releases continues: Despite all this, the men who have just done all these things are in seventh heaven because they have come up with a new word—forum—for another election like the 29 November 1987 elections; and they were able to find traditional politicians, who claim to be representatives of the people, willing to go participate in this forum at the Legislative Palace with them—politicians who have gone there to wheel and deal at the expense of the Haitian people.

That is the position of the coordinating body for 17 neighborhood committees in Port-au-Prince.

Also, the Association of Young People of Rue Oswald Durand [Asosyasyon Jen Nan Ri Osval Diran], Association of Young People of Carrefour Feuilles [Asosyasyon

Jen Kafou Fey], Veterans Association of Carrefour Feuilles [Asosyasyon Veteran Kafou Fey], Association of the Unemployed of Carrefour [Asosyasyon Chome Kafou], and the Central Committee for Change in Haiti [Komite Santral Pou Chanjman Dayiti]—all neighborhood committees—announce to all that there are some armed civilians out looking for (Roosevelt Fraget). (Fraget) is the coordinator of the United Neighborhood Committees [Komite Katye Reyini Yo].

(Fraget), along with all the other neighborhood committees, had called for a demonstration Monday to demand the release of UPD [Union of Democratic Patriots] leader Rockefeller Guerre and Dr (Sylvain Jolibois). According to this note, it seems they are being threatened.

They, all the representatives of neighborhood committes who (?sign) this note and who decided to demonstrate in front of the Law Courts on 13 February, inform everyone that the police and antiriot forces intimidated the demonstrators and dispersed the demonstration in a repressive manner. Now they are looking for the coordinator of the neighborhood committees, (Roosevelt Fraget).

Thus, they ask that all patriots remain vigilant. The people's struggle must progress, and they themselves are not willing to back off. Thus they ask all patriots to remain mobilized in order to continue to demonstrate until leaders Rockefeller Guerre and (Sylvan Jolibois), who have already been in jail unjustly for more than 7 days, are released. [passage omitted]

Organization Plans Demonstration

FL1302171689 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] The National Organization for the Defense of the Young, Ornadej, has called for a demonstration on Wednesday 15 February to demand the release of Rockefeller Guerre and (Sylvain Jolibois) and to ask that the police take back the threatening communique it issued against seven other democratic militants. Also, 13 neighborhood associations invite the general public to support them in a demonstration this morning, Monday 13 February, at 0900 in front of the Law Courts to demand the immediate release of UPD [Union of Democratic Patriots] leader Rockefeller Guerre and Dr (Sylvan Jolibois), whom the forces of evil have unjustly accused, according to a press release from these 13 neighborhood associations.

Nationwide Demonstrations Called

FL1602213189 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Nine associations and political parties have announced a large number of measures—a true rising up [leve kanpe]—against the repression being carried out in Haiti by the macoutes. These associations and political parties are: Union of Democratic Patriots, Jean-Jacques Dessalines Nationalist Sector, Haitian Liberation Party, National Agricultural and Industrial Party, Haitian Christian Democratic Party, National Democratic and Progressive Party of Haiti, Haitian Republicans [Repibliken Ayisyen], Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Forces, and Autonomous Organization of Haitian Workers.

These groups say that, in solidarity with many other organizations, they are obliged to rise up against the plot that the government of Prosper Avril has set up with a view to repressing, imprisoning, humiliating, and intimidating diverse patriots who are against macoutes—such as Rockefeller Guerre and (Sylvan Jolibois), who are being held in jail unjustly and have been there for more than 1 week now, as well as Jean Auguste Mesyeux, Gabriel Miracle, (Idli Cameau), Eddy Volel, Jean Robert Champagne, and so forth—all militants who are against these macoutes and whom the Port-au-Prince police communique threatens to persecute.

There are several clauses expressing considerations. They say, for example, that considering how the population throughout Haiti is asking for justice against macoute section chiefs, macoute justices of the peace, macoute military men, macoute representatives of the Department of the Public Prosecutor, and so forth; and considering that they cannot continue to (?take macoute blows), they, who are signing this declaration in solidarity with many other organizations, have decided to begin a movement to rise up [youn mouvman leve kanpe] against macoute acts of repression against any and all members of the Haitian people, on the one hand, (?but especially) to make the government release Engineer Rockefeller Guerre and Dr (Sylvan Jolibois); stop all other kinds of persecution against everyone else named in the Port-au-Prince police communique; and stop the train of repression, as well as the humiliation and intimidation of all antimacoute leaders and militants that is going on.

Here is the first thing they are going to begin to do, they say, within the framework of the movement to rise up against macoute repression.

They ask that Rockefeller Guerre and (Sylvan Jolibois) be released immediately and unconditionally. They ask the government to rescind the communique of persecution against Mesyeux, Miracle, Volel, Cameau, and so forth.

They also say that they are going to organize, on Monday 20 February 1989, in the four corners of Haiti, popular demonstrations to protest against the application of the recommendations of Anthony Virginie Saint-Pierre and against the repression that the Avril government and diverse section chiefs are exercising against the population all over Haiti.

Thus, they announce that the watchword is hereby out. They ask all organizations that are against macoutes and the entire Haitian people in the four corners of Haiti to

prepare to show their indignation on Monday 20 February 1989, in order to make the Avril government stop all its macoute actions against the Haitian people.

Students Not Attending School in Cap Haitien

FL1602190089 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpts] As we have pointed out in the past, there has been no school in Cap Haitien since the last general strike—or rather, since Carnival, last week. Our Cap Haitien correspondent is going to give us details on this.

[Begin correspondent (James Saint-Julien) recording] There was no school in Cap Haitien on Monday 13 February. There was not a single student in the streets with the intention of going to school.

For their part, school directors say that their schools are open but that it is the students who are not coming to school; and that even some of the teachers (?were present). There were a few parents in front of the school run by the Freres de l'Instruction Chretien complaining that they had tried to take their children to school but that the teachers had not shown up, although, the monks left the gate and the school's doors wide open.

Today, Tuesday [14 February], the situation is pretty much the same. Except for (Panelie Francois) school, which is operating, all other primary and secondary schools were open, but not a single student showed up.

Certain school directors whom we interviewed said that it is not that the schools are closed, but rather that the students have not shown up. Certain others say that, given the state of the country, it is not at all a good idea for students not to go to school—that there is school even in countries which are at war. Therefore, they do not see why the schools should stop functioning, especially since this is happening only in Cap Haitien. [passage omitted]

Finally, we remind listeners that there were antigovernment demonstrations in Cap Haitien last week. However, for the time being, all is calm in Cap Haitien.

This is (James Saint-Julien), Radio Soleil, Cap Haitien. [end recording]

No School, Flaming Barricades in Petit Goave

FL1602185389 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1700 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Report by Petit Goave correspondent Marcel Thomas]

[Excerpts] School has not operated normally in Petit Goave since Monday [13 February]. On Monday, at least 40 percent of the students showed up at the lycee and the church schools. Still more students attended school yesterday, Tuesday. Today, however, things have taken a different turn.

Early in the morning, a group of demonstrators completely blocked National Highway [No 2], blocking traffic. They had erected flaming barricades all over town, at many intersections and in many neighborhoods, such as (Jubile), (Route Nationale), and (Delaratte). They even set up a barricade in front of the lycee, which students would have to pass to enter the lycee, which [words indistinct]. Despite all this, many students went to school, but the schools did not function.

Investigating, we were told by some of the demonstrators that they were acting that way because last week, a delegation had gone to negotiate with the general. As soon as they left, a rumor began circulating in town to the effect that there was going to be a wiping clean of the slate [youn bale-wouze] [few seconds' break in transmission] in which (Nevers Denis) was targeted—mainly the communal committee, which was to be removed, and many other people.

The population did not like this rumor, and ever since then the population has been motivating everyone so as to have the schools not operate.

For the time being, public offices and commerce are functioning. But there is no school, and there are barricades in the streets.

We are following events and will keep you informed.

This is Marcel Thomas for Radio Metropole from Petit Goave.

Student Group Calls for Continued Mobilization

FL1602190489 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Students Affairs, ZEL, supports the decision of the students of Gonaives, Cap Haitien, Miragoane, Hinche, Jeremie, Petit Goave, Anse-a-Veau, and all other students who are struggling at the side of the Haitian people to it find the path of its liberation. The gesture being made by the students throughout Haiti since the beginning of this year shows how they are determined to organize, while raising one another's level of awareness with a view to a general mobilization against the high cost of living, the climate of insecurity, an illegal government, an education that is not really national, and so forth.

ZEL asks all students in the four corners of Haiti to understand what kind of game is being played at the expense of the Haitian people, and to participate in all legal actions being carried out with a view to Haiti's deliverance. The students should do this in the name of Makinson Michel, Daniel Israel, and Jean Robert Cius [three students killed by the Army during incidents in Gonaives in 1985].

Recruiting of Cane Cutters Leads to Clash

FL1502155589 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Recruiting of Haitians for the Dominican Republic's cane fields is continuing; and it is again beginning to be done secretly. Thus, a clash broke out in the Terrier Rouge area on Saturday night, as five trucks loaded with Haitians were preparing to head for the Dominican cane fields.

[Unidentified correspondent] The recruiting of Haitians to cut cane in the Dominican Republic is continuing in northeastern Haiti.

At approximately 2100 on Saturday 11 January [month as heard] in Savane Carree, a little village 9 km from Terrier Rouge, five small pickup trucks each (?loaded) 30 Haitians to take to Meillac, where they could cross the border into the Dominican Republic. Each of these people paid the person in charge of the operation, who was accompanied by a Dominican, 50 gourdes.

While these pickups were loading up, another little pickup, a Mazda, showed up. The person in charge of the operation asked this pickup to load up with Haitians too. The driver of the Mazda asked how much each person was going to pay. The person in charge of the operation told him: 5 gourdes. The driver said that he would carry only 20 Haitians in the vehicle.

While he was loading up, certain people who did not want the recruiting to take place in their area began to throw rocks. A woman named (Bouta) who was in the vehicle but who was on her way to (?the patron saint's day festivities) in (Grand Bassin), was hit by a rock in the face, under the eye, and bled profusely. The vehicle's driver got angry and made everyone get out and he left, heading for the festivities to which he had been going in the first place.

We notice that this business of recruiting is expanding in northeastern Haiti. Meanwhile, the authorities are sleeping. It is as if the fact that they know what kind of tribulations Haitians are going to encounter in the Dominican Republic in connection with the cane cutting does not bother them at all.

MPP Questions Government

FL1502160989 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] In view of the problem of recruiting Haitians to cut cane in the Dominican Republic, which is being done openly before the eyes of all the authorities—and, more precisely, after the 27 January catastrophe in which more than 48 people were killed and others wounded—the Papaye Peasants Movements [MPP] asks a number of questions.

MPP says: Can a Haitian hold his head up high before a foreigner—particularly a Dominican—after all the humiliations to which we have just been subjected by the Dominican Government?

Second, is there a single nation, a single government on God's blessed earth, that will allow its dignity to be trampled underfoot like this; that will allow others to show such lack of respect for its citizens; that will allow its citizens to be treated worse than animals?

Will any other government allow anyone to trample its nation's dignity underfoot as the Haitian Government is doing? Couldn't they have sent a plane to get the bodies of our brothers and the wounded?

The MPP continues: A number of people are wondering if (?these people) are Haitian—or if they are perhaps not Haitian any longer but are merely filling their pockets so that, when the time comes, they can go and live without cares in countries where the terrain has been prepared for them.

Did the Haitian Government turn Franck Romain over to the Dominicans out of fear of displeasing Balaguer? Is that why it refuses to condemn the behavior of the Dominican Government toward the Haitians?

Why is there never any reaction when the Dominican Army enters Haitian territory to commit exactions or to capture our brothers in order to take them to the cane camps? Minister Saint-Pierre is such a vigilant person! Are his eyes incapable of seeing this kind of thing?

Minister Saint-Pierre, could it be that a few secret contracts have been signed? Could it be that some big bucks (?have left the country)? Is this required under the rules of diplomacy? Or is it a simple matter of doing good deeds, as the Gospel says, in preparation for when things turn sour?

In order to avoid any kind of confusion, the MPP asks the military government to give the Haitian people a perfectly clear explanation of this business of commerce in Haitians in the Dominican Republic. After hearing the explanation, they will ask the Haitian people and all good patriots to get together with a view to picking their dignity up off the ground, as worthy children of Dessalines and Charlemagne Peralte.

MPP reminds, in its letter, that since the 1988-89 sugar harvest began in the Dominican Republic, the press from time to time reports cases of Haitian peasants being sold to go cut cane under the conditions of slavery that everyone already knows about.

Certain people—people perhaps too wicked—claim there is direct or indirect participation in this traffic on the part of the government. They, the peasants of the MPP, don't want to go that far. However, it is a fact that they have never heard any official reaction to these

charges, nor have they ever seen any initiative aimed at stopping this humiliating traffic. This almost leads everyone to believe that there is at least a collusive silence.

The 27 January catastrophe, which left 48 people dead and others wounded, was to make us aware not only of the dimensions of this traffic but especially of the government's nonchalance and indifference before the calamity befalling this exploited class of people, who are not considered Haitian—who are, in fact, not even considered human.

We must say that this letter is an open letter addressed to the government of General Prosper Avril. And the main question, for Gen Avril is: Is there any nation, any government, on earth that allows its dignity to be trampled underfoot like that—as your government does?

Former Presidential Soldiers Denounce Government

FL1502154689 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Fourteen former soldiers of the Presidential Guard discharged by the military government of 17 September point out that the Avril government is making the same mistakes they reproached General Namphy's government for—and which led them to overthrow him. These soldiers ask all patriotic soldiers and officers in the Army and all other democratic people's organizations to get together to stop the new death train.

In this press release, the men say that they are patriotic soldiers who have been booted out of the Haitian Army; and that it is they who were responsible for the 17 September movement. They also talk about all the humiliations to which they have been subjected, and the fact that they were thrown in jail—just because they wanted an end the repression in Haiti.

They say they became indignant upon hearing about the trials and tribulations of their fellow Haitians in the Dominican Republic.

They say they have decided to shoulder their responsibility before the entire world and denounce the plot the Avril government is setting up with a view to eliminating them. They inform the Haitian people that Minister Anthony Virginie Saint-Pierre's document is aimed mainly at themselves, the 17 September movement soldiers who have been booted out of the Army—because most of them are from the central plateau and have been living among their families ever since the Haitian people's mobilization led to their release from prison.

These soldiers say that at a time when the Avril government is doing the same things they reproached the Namphy government for; at a time when the Avril government is permitting foreigners to humiliate Haitians on their own territory; at a time when the Avril government is exerting pressure, arresting arbitrarily, and committing many other violations against many of the nation's citizens, such as Rockefeller Guerre, (Sylvan Jolibois), and many others—all people who have been struggling in the Haitian people's camp for a long time with a view to making democracy blossom—they reiterate to the Haitian people that the death train is continuing to destroy people.

They feel it is time for all patriotic soldiers unjustly booted out of the Armed Forces, all patriotic soldiers and officers in the Army today, and all democratic and people's organizations to make up their minds to get together to stop the death train—as well as the humiliation, terror, repression, and high cost of living that is trampling the Haitian people underfoot.

They end the press release by saying that in the name of Charlemagne Peralte and all other staunch patriots, they say: Long live a liberated Haiti. Down with all macoute governments. That was the position of 14 soldiers who were booted out of the Army by the military government—more precisely, soldiers from the Presidential Guard.

Bishop Denies Grassroots Parishes Possess Weapons

FL1302172389 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] ...where they want to go with them. They don't understand, but they feel threats weighing on them all over the place, and these threats are suffocating them. They cannot live in such a situation. They are asking for an explanation. They are asking for the truth, which will deliver them, in this serious matter.

If everything that is said is indeed well-founded, they ask that the whole truth be made public, so that everyone can see where the truth lies.

The bishop continues: I do not think that serious people will take seriously the accusations that our small grassroots parishes possess weapons. Those who talk this way sound like people who have never left the city to see with their own eyes all the wonderful things that have been accomplished among the peasants of the small grassroots parishes without fighting anyone at all.

These small grassroots parishes peaceably preach the word of God, get together to fix the homes of handicapped brothers that require reparations, to build houses for those who cannot do it themselves, to fill all the holes in the roads, to work together, and to do all kinds of things together. Most of the time, the grassroots parishes meet under an arbor, in a little chapel, or under a tree along a main road. Where would they hide these weapons? The big weapons of our small grassroots parishes are the Bible, the Gospel, the word of God.

Jamaica

Bush's Congratulations Wish to Manley 'Welcomed'

FL1602212989 Bridgetown CANA in English
2055 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 16, CANA—U.S. President George Bush has told new Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley that he was looking forward to continued cooperation between their countries.

Bush, in a message to Manley, said: "I know the American public joins me in wishing prosperity and progress to Jamaica."

He expected that the governments would cooperate on matters of mutual concern, "including economic development, mutual security, and combatting the scourge of international drug trafficking". The tone of the Bush message has been welcomed by the ruling Peoples National Party (PNP) officials here, who consider it important in setting the stage for an early visit that Manley plans to Washington for talks with administration officials.

"We consider the message as important in setting the tone for relations between the countries," a government official here said.

In the 1970's, under Manley, relations between Kingston and Washington became strained because of Jamaica's close relations with Cuba and Manley's emergence as a vocal spokesman for Third World countries. Manley has been fence-mending in Washington, but during the campaign, defeated Prime Minister Edward Seaga argued that it was unlikely that a PNP government could have good relations with the U.S.

Seaga, who pulled Jamaica close to Washington and benefitted from heavy economic assistance to the island under the previous Reagan administration, boasted of a close personal relationship with Bush and his secretary of state, James Baker.

Manley's first act since being sworn-in Monday was Wednesday's signing of an agreement for a U.S. 30 million dollar grant from the United States in continuing assistance after last September's Hurricane Gilbert. Manley made much of the agreement, saying it was an "example of continuity ...after democratic change".

Bush had noted in his message: "The people of Jamaica once again have expressed their will and their confidence in the democratic process."

Manley Promises No Upheaval in Local Economy

FL1602210689 Bridgetown CANA in English
2039 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 16, CANA—Prime Minister Michael Manley, seeking to assauge any fears among Jamaica's business, has promised that there will be no upheaval in the local economy.

Any change in economic management would be carefully considered and would be implemented only after he was fully convinced that it would bring improvement, Manley told Jamaica Manufacturers Association (JMA) members Wednesday night.

"...All my experience, which is now quite considerable, teaches me that when you deal with an economy, tread carefully," Manley said. "Change nothing just for the sake of change, because continuity is very important."

During the 1970's the Jamaican private sector quarelled with democratic socialist policies of the Manley administration of the period, helping to cause a sharp decline in the island's economy.

The Edward Seaga government, heavily defeated in last Thursday's general election, boasted of reviving the economy since coming to office in 1980. The economy grew two percent in 1986, five percent in 1987, and was estimated to have grown over three percent last year, having been earlier running at over five percent until Hurricane Gilbert struck in September. However, the Seaga government had implemented austerity programmes to cut government deficits, cutting sharply into spending on social services.

Manley has promised to pay more attention to neglected social services, particularly education, as well as orient [as received] macroeconomic policies towards production.

Policies now favour consumption and imports, Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP) has argued. But the new government has made clear that its moves will be measured and deliberate.

"...I have told all my colleagues this: I am not going to agree to changing anything in the management of the economy unelss I am absolutely sure that change is going to help and make things better in some way," Manley said.

Manley's economic advice will come chiefly from G. Arthur Brown, a former governor of the island's Central Bank, who is currently co-administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Brown will chair a "committee of wise men", who will help to direct the Jamaican economy.

Additionally, a National Advisory Council, made up of public and private sector interests will consider specific strategies and problems affecting production. This body will fall under a powerful, super Ministry of Development, Production, and Planning, headed by Manley's deputy, P.J. Patterson.

Manley, while warning that his government would maintain a tight fiscal policy, promised to consider a dual interest policy in an effort to provide a spur to the productive sectors. The former government maintained a high interest rate policy as part of its strategy to contain demand. Manley said that the rates could not be universally lowered at this time.

"Maybe you have to take the dual rates concept ...," Manley said.

Wants Relations With Caricom

FL1602193489 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Jamaica's new prime minister, Michael Manley, has pledged to bring his country closer to Caricom [Caribbean Community]. Mr Manley made the pledge on Monday night when he took the oath as Jamaican prime minister for the third time in [words indistinct]. He also spoke of government plans to (?even) relations with countries of the Caribbean community.

Mr Manley said the Caribbean must be ready to face the challenges that will arise when Europe becomes a single market in 1992.

Seaga To Be Sworn In as Opposition Leader

FL1602210789 Bridgetown CANA in English 2042 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 16, CANA—Edward Seaga, ousted as prime minister in Jamaica's general election a week ago, is to take up the job of leader of the opposition, his Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) announced. The JLP said that Seaga will be sworn in as opposition leader on Tuesday by the governor general, Sir Florizel Glasspole, after JLP parliamentarians decide that he accepts the invitation to the job.

Seaga is expected to have 15 members in the 60-member House of representatives, against 45 members for Prime Minister Michael Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP).

In the previous parliament, Seaga's party had all the seats, following the PNP's boycott of the December 1983 election over the state of the voters' register.

There has been speculation here over whether Seaga, who previously served as opposition leader between 1974-1980, would want the job. Seaga, 58, said prior to the election that he had not considered his future outside the Prime Minister's Office because he did not expect to lose.

Costa Rica

Arias Briefs Government Council on Summit

PA1602154789 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 0000 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez has given the Government Council a detailed report on the Central American summit held in El Salvador. The president explained the major points of the discussions, as well as the presidents' agreements and commitments to continue the peace process. Arias Sanchez described the summit's results as a success and reiterated his strong hope that if the agreements are fulfilled, it will be possible to achieve peace.

The success of the peace process primarily depends on the Nicaraguan Government's compliance with the commitments it made at this summit. Although Honduran President Jose Azcona's commitment to relocate the 10,000 Nicaraguan rebels in his country is important, the onus is on Nicaragua to keep its promises to amend some laws and to allow free elections in late February 1990.

In his report to the Government Council, President Arias Sanchez also talked about the benefits the region's countries will receive through the aid suggested by the (?Stanford) Commission, which will total $10 billion in a 5-year period.

Madrigal 'Optimistic' About Ortega's Promises

PA1602155489 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 0000 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Costa Rican Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto is optimistic about the commitments the Nicaraguan Government made at the Central American summit. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega promised to amend some laws, to reform the Supreme Electoral Council, and to begin a process of democratization leading to elections within 10 months. Other commitments include allowing the organization of opposition political parties. All these things lead the Costa Rican foreign minister to believe progress will be made in Nicaragua. Daniel Ortega also promised to allow the news media to receive supplies from anywhere in the world, something that is currently banned. For Nicaraguan newspapers or other news media to receive donations of supplies and equipment from abroad is regarded as treason to the fatherland. Foreign Minister Madrigal Nieto said these commitments will enable Nicaragua to move toward democratization and political pluralism.

Information Minister Meets Ortega Envoy

PA1502172589 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 9 Feb 89 p 4-A

[Article by Tomas Zamora and Marvin Barquero]

[Text] Nicaragua's presidential envoy Colonel Joaquin Cuadra Pazos and Information Minister Guido Fernandez met secretly for 1 hour yesterday in Liberia, Guanacaste Province.

LA NACION learned that the meeting between the high-ranking Nicaraguan officer and Fernandez, who represented President Oscar Arias, took place at 1000.

The information minister confirmed yesterday afternoon that the meeting had taken place, but he refused to answer any questions on the topics discussed.

He acknowledged, however, that no one else attended the meeting. Fernandez added that Col Cuadra conveyed a message from Ortega to Arias that the latter was to receive before the upcoming Central American presidential summit.

Fernandez said: "I attended the meeting because we were interested in promptly knowing the Nicaraguan Government's views."

Fernandez added that he only listened to Cuadra; the Costa Rican Government only contributed its goodwill and conveyed no message to President Ortega. He refused to comment on whether he discussed a proposal being drafted in this country. Supposedly, that proposal would pressure Ortega into starting a democratization process in Nicaragua.

According to Fernandez, yesterday's meeting was set up 2 days ago. He refused to say, however, whether Presidents Ortega and Arias themselves arranged the meeting.

LA NACION learned that Cuadra is very close to Ortega, but Fernandez said Cuadra is not Ortega's deputy. Fernandez did say that Cuadra came as the Nicaraguan president's personal envoy.

Arms Cache Found at Panamanian's House

PA1702003289 Panama City Radio Exitosa in Spanish 1200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Costa Rican security agents have discovered an unspecified amount of weapons at the residence of Jose Manuel Echevers, a Panamanian who denied ownership of the weapons but confessed that he is a member of a group that opposes General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander of the Panama Defense Forces.

A Public Security Ministry spokesman, who asked that his name be withheld, confirmed that the weapons were discovered in the backyard of Echevers' residence, located on the outskirts of San Jose.

This is the third arms cache discovered by the police on land owned by the Panamanian.

Six people are involved in the weapons case: One Panamanian, two Nicaraguans, and three Costa Ricans.

Two arms caches were previously found near a house that Echevers owns in San Rafael del Coronado, 15 km from the Costa Rican capital.

Even though Echevers claims he is innocent, he remains in custody while the authorities study his legal situation, particularly his immigrant status, the same source added.

The source said the Panamanian Embassy in Costa Rica is aware of everything concerning the case involving Echevers, who believes he is a "victim" of the Panamanian Government.

Echevers admitted he was a friend of former Panamanian guerrilla fighter Hugo Spadafora, who was beheaded in 1986 and whose corpse was found in Costa Rica, and of former Panamanian President Eric Arturo Delvalle.

The following weapons were found in the cache: Rifles, submachineguns, pistols, and a rocket launcher, plus 1,000 rounds of ammunition.

Illegal Landing of Panamanian Plane Reported

PA1702043689 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 9 Feb 89 p 8-A

[Article by Rose Mary Monge]

[Text] No Costa Rican customs official checked Panamanian presidential airplane HP 1083, which violated regulations on 13 February by conducting two flights between Tomas Guardia Airport in Liberia and Omar Torrijos Herrera International Airport in Panama.

A Civil Aviation General Directorate report confirmed this information. It noted that immigration procedures and the filing of landing and departure plans were also disregarded during the airplane's second flight late that day.

The first flight took place in the morning to bring a political figure from Panama. The second flight was to return him to his country. According to Civil Aviation Director Carlos Viquez, the report does not give the passenger's name because the Immigration Department deals with that information.

Because of this incident, Civil Aviation authorities decided to ban the airplane's captain, Rodrigo Hernandez, from flying any airplane inside Costa Rican territory for 1 year.

Likewise, Viquez said his agency's legal department will decide the punishment to be imposed on Tomas Guardia Airport administrator Analive Rosales and her assistant Rosa Maria Bustos for failing to enforce the airport's normal entry rules.

Rosales said she and Bustos will comment on the matter when they receive the report.

The civil aviation report will be forwarded to immigration and customs's authorities for verification, Viquez said.

Customs General Directorate chief, Rodolfo Peralta, said yesterday he was unaware of the situation, so he will comment on it after he reads the report. He explained customs officials go to the Liberia airport to conduct their inspection when they are advised of flights. If that is not possible, a guard stationed at that airport conducts the check.

It was impossible to reach any immigration authorities yesterday afternoon to discuss the matter.

Viquez stressed that the Liberia airport director has not been asked to resign yet. On Monday, 6 February, he had assured a LA NACION reporter that would certainly happen.

On that day, Viquez noted that decision would be made if the Civil Aviation report so decided. However, he said yesterday the legal department must hold a hearing with the two airport officials before making a decision.

El Salvador

Rebels Send Letter to Political Parties

PA1602170489 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1615 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] San Salvador, 16 FEB (ACAN - EFE)—The Salvadoran guerrilla movement asserted today it is willing to lay down its weapons if it reaches an agreement with the Salvadoran Government and Army to postpone the presidential elections scheduled for 19 March until 15 September.

In a letter sent to the various political parties, the FMLN said today it "is completely willing to reach an agreement" for a cease-fire and requests international supervision for the elections in case it reaches an agreement with the government.

In the letter, the FMLN says there is a war in El Salvador, there are two conflicting sides, and "one cannot demand unilateral commitments" from one of the sides.

On 24 January, the rebels presented a peace proposal to the government in which they agreed to accept the election results if elections were postponed until 15 September to negotiate a new electoral framework.

The Salvadoran Government and Army rejected the FMLN proposal, which they described as "unconstitutional" and a means to divide the Armed Forces, while the political parties are studying it to present a joint counterproposal.

Over 10 political parties, ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left, agreed on 8 February to meet with the guerrilla leaders to discuss the rebel proposal in Mexico, Guatemala, or Costa Rica on 20 February.

In the letter to the political parties—signed by FMLN Commanders Jorge Shafik Handal and Roberto Roca, two of the five members of the FMLN General Command—the FMLN said the postponement of the elections would give time to the rebels to prepare and participate in the electoral process under equal conditions as the other political parties.

The FMLN said that in the next 6 months, the agreements between the government, the Army, and the guerrilla movement would "consolidate" so elections "are conducted in a country without a war." The FMLN adds that with those measures, "the armed conflict and the possibilities to achieve peace" will be transferred to the "electoral arena."

The FMLN asserts that a unilateral cease-fire "is inappropriate" and insists on an agreement with the Army to lay down weapons.

As for the constitutionality of its proposal, the rebels said the current Constitution "does not represent the Salvadoran people's will."

FMLN, Political Parties To Meet in Mexico

PA1602213989 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Report by Milton Grimaldi]

[Text] The FMLN General Command today agreed to meet with the Salvadoran political parties in Mexico City next Monday. This was confirmed this morning by the Nationalist Democratic Union Party (UDN) Secretary General Mario Aguinada Carranza. The rebels agreed to the proposal presented by the political parties' leaders so that the rebels can explain some of the points in the FMLN proposal, the first point of which is to postpone the 19 March presidential elections until 15 September. According to Aguinada Carranza, in their proposal the rebels denounced the attitude of the political parties that did not agree to meet with them in San Salvador.

[Begin recording] [Carranza] We received the proposal a few minutes ago, and the FMLN General Command has agreed to hold the meeting in Mexico City. We have also learned that the FMLN has denounced the fact that most of the parties did not agree to hold the meeting here in San Salvador.

[Grimaldi] What will be discussed at the meeting?

[Carranza] At which meeting?

[Grimaldi] At the meeting with the political parties.

[Carranza] The FMLN proposal to postpone the elections.

[Grimaldi] Will there be an alternative in the event no consensus is reached regarding the postponement of the elections?

[Carranza] Of course, I would say this is going to be a talk to smooth things out, to start drafting a plan for beginning the negotiations between the FMLN, the government, the legislature, and the Armed Forces.

[Grimaldi] What is the extent of the commitment the political parties are willing to make at the meeting with the FMLN if the Armed Forces and the Executive Branch position regarding the postponement of the elections is already known?

[Carranza] This is a difficult problem for the political parties. At this time, they are already committed to saying yes, because saying no would mean paying a very high cost since it would not only mean losing political prestige but also that each party would lose votes in the 19 March elections. There is no doubt only ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] would benefit if the other parties get few votes. However, the political cost would be very high in the eyes of the Salvadoran people and the international community. Moreover, the worst thing is that this would mean ending the possibility of beginning a frank and serious process to solve the conflict through negotiations.

[Grimaldi] Will the meeting be held on 20 February as proposed?

[Carranza] The FMLN agreed to hold the meeting on 20-21 February.

[Grimaldi] What about the times of the meetings?

[Carranza] The political parties have proposed beginning the sessions in the afternoon, which means all of us would be taking the TACA Airline morning flight to arrive in Mexico City at noon, and then begin the talks in the afternoon.

[Grimaldi] Will the entire FMLN General Command travel to Mexico?

[Carranza] No, only the delegates they have already selected: Jorge Shafik Handal and Roberto Roca, members of the General Command; and Ana Guadalupe Martinez and Salvador Samayoa on behalf of the political - diplomatic commission. [end recording]

Representatives of the various political parties in El Salvador are meeting today for the 8th consecutive day to discuss the FMLN proposal and the possible postponement of the elections. During this meeting, the

politicians will choose the delegation that will travel to Mexico to meet with the FMLN General Command representatives on Monday afternoon.

FMLN Replies to Political Parties Proposal
PA1702045289 San Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 16 Feb 89 p 3

[Text] The Salvadoran political parties today received from the FMLN an answer to the proposals they had sent to the front through the UDN [National Democratic Union]. The FMLN's note is signed by Jorge Shafik Handal and Roberto Roca on behalf of the FMLN General Command. The messages were faxed.

The following is a summary of the FMLN response:

I. The FMLN views as positive the decision of the Armed Forces, the Executive Branch, and the Legislative Assembly to make the political parties responsible for holding a political debate and for searching for an understanding to open the way to peace.

II. The FMLN proposal does not involve only electoral aspects. "The essence of our proposal is to let the electoral and the peace processes resolve the armed conflict once there is an agreement on reciprocal guarantees." Following the dialogue with the political parties, it will be necessary to negotiate with the government, the Armed Forces, and the Legislative Assembly to make the necessary commitments.

III. The FMLN has responded to questions from the PDC [Christian Democratic Party], the MAC [Authentic Christian Movement], the PCN [National Conciliation Party], the PAR [Renovation Action Party], the UDN, and the UP [Popular Union]. ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] did not present its questions in writing. However, the questions were sent to the FMLN on behalf of all the parties, with the exception of the Democratic Convergence. These are the questions and answers:

1. Why would elections be valid on 15 September and not on 19 March? The FMLN believes that the 19 March elections are part of a counterinsurgency project. The Armed Forces High Command keeps its role as the main voter. In El Salvador there is an economic, political, social, and military crisis that can be resolved only if steps are taken to resolve the conflict and to secure peace.

A 6-month period is necessary to allow the FMLN to effectively organize its participation in the electoral struggle because otherwise it could only serve as a mere spectator. In addition, the extension would allow the consolidation of the initial agreement.

2. The FMLN proposal means that the war would end? The FMLN states that its acknowledgement of elections results, regardless of who wins, means that the war has irreversibly yielded to a political solution, because whoever insists on an armed conflict after those elections would face certain defeat. On our part, we are prepared to put an end to the armed struggle.

3. Would the FMLN be willing to establish an immediate cease-fire? The FMLN states: "The answer is affirmative." "Not only would we be willing to do so, but it would be the most advisable thing; however, it would be with the understanding that it must be a cease-fire agreed upon between the FAES [Salvadoran Armed Forces] and the FMLN," because unilateral cease-fires do not work, as has been repeatedly shown.

4. While the FMLN supports the Democratic Convergence, in exchange for what would the Army restrict its soldiers to quarters? The answer states that in exchange for the Army restricting its soldiers to quarters, when the cease-fire is agreed upon, the FMLN would promise to maintain its combatants far from the voting sites, "so that no one will feel pressured by the rifles of the two sides."

5. Would the FMLN expressly abandon violence as the means to achieve power? Answer: The FMLN can rule out revolutionary violence as a method to face the state's violence and then peacefully solve the problem of power.

6. Would the FMLN accept international supervision of the electoral process? Answer: Yes.

7. What is the FMLN position on the constitutional problems that its proposal entails? The FMLN states that in general it is not against the legal structure of society and the state and its form of republican, democratic, and representative government. Nevertheless, it states that the Constitution was drafted during time of war and that a broad segment of the national political sector was excluded from drafting the Constitution. Therefore, the FMLN does not consider the Constitution representative of what the country really wants. In any case, it adds, regardless of this position, constitutional formulas have been mentioned to make its proposal compatible with the current legal system.

The FMLN adds that the Constitution has been repeatedly violated, "for ends that are much less legitimate than the search for peace." It concludes by stating: "In any case, this is a difficult problem that must be addressed with political high-mindedness, a respect for everyone's ideas, and with a constructive desire to seek a solution. It is precisely because of this that we are insistig on a high-level meeting between the FMLN and the political parties."

As we report elsewhere in this newspaper, the parties have in turn proposed a meeting outside El Salvador on Monday.

FMLN: Summit 'Step Toward Self-Determination'

PA1702041089 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Station commentary: "The Central American Presidential Summit and the People's Right to Self-Determination"]

[Text] The Central American presidential summit in El Salvador, which was postponed on various occasions is, definitely, another step forward in the process initiated with the first Esquipulas meeting. Recalling that first meeting of Central American presidents in May 1986, I remember that it took place precisely when Reagan's warmongering policies had been weakened and were beginning to decay.

The ultimate signing of the Esquipulas II document was a blow to the United States because it was construed as an act of independence by the Central American countries and it appeared to legitimize the Sandininist people's revolution. At that time, the region's puppet governments were subjected to Washington's orders 100 percent, and the principle of self-determination could not even be mentioned.

U.S. warmongering policies, however, suffered serious setbacks in the most decisive areas of confrontation worldwide: the Middle East, Africa, and Central America. Moreover, the Nicaraguan contras suffered decisive blows that ensured their defeat, the counterinsurgency plan for El Salvador was destroyed, and winds of negotiation began to blow throughout the world. Even against the warmongerers' wishes, room had to be made for political understanding, which was a step forward in the people's quest for self-determination, justice, and liberty.

The signing in Costa del Sol of an agreement to demobilize the contras closes another costly chapter for the Nicaraguan people and turns a new page in Central American history based upon good sense and political flexibiity.

In El Salvador, which is currently the focal point of worldwide attention because of the possible solutions that may emerge from the FMLN's peace proposal, some sectors are still reluctant to reach a political understanding. The oligarchy's inflexibility, symbolized by the Nationalist Republican Alliance, ARENA, and the Armed Forces hierarchy, has blocked every effort to pave the way for a political solution to the conflict. Those warmongering sectors' rejection of the FMLN proposal has stood in the way of a national understanding and has failed to respond to the FMLN's gestures of flexibility and political resolve.

Before the FMLN's proposal, the sectors opposed to an understanding flatly refused to participate in the elections. Now that the FMLN has seriously offered to make the elections a step toward peace, they have reacted negatively. They requested a 60-day truce. The FMLN said it would decree a 60-day truce. They said certain points in the FMLN proposal required further explanation. The FMLN named a high-level delegation to explain those points. The naivest of us can see their inflexibility and lack of political resolve.

The FMLN peace proposal faithfully adheres to the spirit of Esquipulas II. Among other things, Esquipulas advocates the Central American people's right to self-determination and the need for free and clean elections without U.S. intervention, but under the supervision of honest organizations and persons.

Napoleon Duarte's refusal to include the FMLN proposal on the presidential summit's agenda contradicts the spirit of the Esquipulas agreement he signed. Nevertheless, despite the stumbling blocks and the warmongers' determination, the presidential summit in El Salvador has been an important step toward self-determination, a step that has undoubtedly proven that the winds of negotiation are blowing through Central America.

FMLN Carries Out 'Fierce' Attacks on 2 Towns

PA1602153989 Paris AFP in Spanish 1505 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] San Salvador, 16 Feb (AFP)—Rebel sources have reported here that at least 20 Salvadoran Army soldiers were killed or wounded when troops tried to repel two fierce rebel attacks early this morning in La Paz and San Vicente Departments.

Through the clandestine Radio Venceremos, the rebels reported a heavy attack on the Salvadoran Cotton Cooperative on the eastern side of Zacatecoluca City, La Paz Department. According to the rebel bulletin, the guerrillas inflicted an "undetermined number of casualties" on the Army.

Residents of Zacatecoluca claim to have seen the bodies of eight soldiers, while a community hospital spokesman confirmed that seven seriously wounded soldiers were admitted to the hospital.

In addition, rebels today entered Jerusalen, a town also located in La Paz Department, where they claimed to have killed three "paramilitary men" who confronted them.

The rebel bulletin added that another attack was carried out in Santa Maria de Ostuma, where the rebels killed or wounded four civilian militia members.

Casualties Reported

PA1602210489 San Salvador YSU in Spanish 1905 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Three paramilitary soldiers in the town of Jerusalen were killed early this morning during an attack by FMLN guerrillas on the paramilitary garrison. Official

sources in Jerusalen said paramiltary soldiers Jose Maria Gonzalez, Ruben Barahona, and Casimiro Pocasan, 14, were killed during the clash with the rebels.

The sources also indicated that four other paramilitary soldiers were seriously injured in the attack. The attack began at 0100 and it ended 2 hours later.

Meanwhile, in the town of Santa Maria Ostuma, La Paz Department, four civil defense soldiers, including the local commander, were injured during a guerrilla attack. According to the reports, local commander Santos Andrade Reyes' arm was injured during the attack, while three other injured soldiers were taken to a health center. The attack lasted for about 3 hours. There were no civilian casualties.

Meanwhile, in the city of San Vicente, the guerrillas blew up at least four power towers, including some transformers. This took place in the vicinity of (Amapulapa) beach, near San Vicente.

Explosions in other areas were reported, but according to reports there was no damage.

100 Casualties in Attack

PA1702012989 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0035 GMT 17 Feb 89

["War report" issued by the FMLN's Anastasio Aquino Paracentral Front on the "The FMLN and Organized People Fight for a True Democracy; Peace With Social Justice" regional maneuver; date and place not given]

[Text] We began the maneuver with various attacks at 0200 on 16 February, as follows:

At 0200, our forces began an attack from various directions on the DMIFA [Armed Forces Engineers' Military Detachment] located at the Entre Rios Cooperative, Zacatecoluca jurisdiction, La Paz Department. We seized control of 25 positions, including the dormitories, pillboxes, and guard houses 15 minutes later. We kept control of the entire base for 2 hours.

At 0230, the government forces' first reinforcements were sent in an armored personnel carrier, but it was destroyed by our rockets. At 0330, the second reinforcements arrived at the DMIFA in four trucks. They were ambushed near the steel mill and Entre Rios Cooperative on the Coastal Highway. We destroyed 1 truck and inflicted 12 casualties.

Four Air Force aircraft—one UH-1M helicopter equipped with rockets, one AC-47 airplane, one O-2 airplane, and one A-37 airplane—arrived at the same time and strafed and fired rockets at the Entre Rios Cooperative and surrounding areas.

Following is a list of what was destroyed during "The FMLN and Organized People Fight for a True Democracy; Peace With Social Justice" regional maneuver: 1 military truck, 1 armored personnel carrier, 1 military warehouse, 200 rifles, various machineguns and military radios, 4 dormitories, over 1,000 bales of cotton, 1 electric substation, part of the Entre Rios Cooperative's installations, and 1 cotton mill.

The enemy sustained 105 dead and 45 wounded, including one officer. We repeat, 105 dead and 45 wounded, including one officer.

Likewise, we seized 10 M-16 rifles, 8 M-16 rifles, 8 backpacks, and other war materiel. Following the destruction of the military installations, which are now a mound of debris and ash, our units withdrew without trouble.

FMLN Reports Army Casualties in Chalatenango

PA1702032589 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The Atlacatl Battalion has suffered at least 10 casualties during the past 48 hours of battle in different areas of Chalatenango Department. Over the past several weeks, government troops have waged a counterinsurgency war in Chalatenango Department, in the northern part of the country, to block FMLN offensive operations, but they have failed.

The FMLN General Command decreed a unilateral truce as a gesture of goodwill toward the Central American presidential summit, but the Army failed to respond with a similar action. On the contrary, the Army [6-second break in reception] by the FMLN in central El Salvador.

The Chalatenango clashes took place in Sumpul Avelares, Los Chacones, and the (Pena Caloso) area, all of which are within the jurisdiction of San Francisco Morazan. The Atlacatl Battalion sustained 10 casualties during these clashes.

In Usulutan Department, meanwhile, the Atonal Battalion's 4th Company advanced toward FMLN positions and clashed with FMLN units in the vicinity of San Agustin. The Army troops, who sustained three casualties in this clash, were repelled within minutes, and our FMLN units pursued them to the coastal highway.

In Cabanas Department, a 5th Detachment soldier's leg was blown off when he stepped on a mine placed in his unit's path as they advanced toward our positions. The action took place in Perico, Tenancingo jurisdiction, Cuscatlan Department.

Former Rebel 'Deserter' Found Shot To Death

PA1702015789 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0131 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] San Salvador, 16 Feb (EFE)—It has been officially reported that Miguel Castellanos, a former Salvadoran guerrilla leader, was shot to death tonight by suspected urban guerrilla units.

The government source added that 42-year-old Castellanos was machinegunned as he left his office located in northern San Salvador.

Miguel Castellanos deserted the FMLN in 1985 and, along with other former guerrillas, formed the Center for the Study of the National Reality [Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional—CEREN].

For several years he was a member of the leadership of the People's Liberation Forces, one of the five armed FMLN groups.

Castellanos was accused by the rebels of being a deserter who had provided information about his former comrades.

In recent years, Castellanos participated in several forums to make known the strategies of the guerrillas and to urge the rebels to lay down their weapons and join the democratic process just as he had done.

Death of 'Traitor' Reported

PA1702021689 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0100 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] A few minutes ago we received information that traitor Miguel Castellanos was killed in San Salvador. He was killed at 1810, exactly when we were beginning this broadcast of Radio Venceremos. The action occurred on 43d Avenue South and 7th Street, in front of the La Costilla restaurant. The gunfire shattered the windows of the car in which Miguel Castellanos was traveling.

As will be remembered, Miguel Castellanos betrayed the revolutionary cause and was responsible for several murders and crimes against members of the people's movement and our revolutionary forces when he gladly collaborated with the Armed Forces general staff and the counterinsurgency plans of the Reagan administration. Miguel Castellanos is dead.

Nicaragua

Contras Ready for 'Immediate' Dialogue

PA1602201889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1946 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] San Jose, 16 Feb (ACAN - EFE)—Wilfredo Montalvan, one of the seven members of the Nicaraguan Resistance (RN) directorate, said in Costa Rica today the contras are ready to hold an "immediate" dialogue with the Sandinist government to bring about a permanent cease-fire.

Montalvan said during a news conference that the contras are prepared to meet with the political opposition and the Nicaraguan Government "anywhere" if they are guaranteed total freedom of movement.

The RN leader said the rebels will soon inform the presidents of the region, except the Nicaraguan president, of their viewpoints regarding the plan for the repatriation and dismantling of the contras, a plan agreed to by the presidents in El Salvador on 14 February.

He added that the contras will only turn in their weapons when democratic conditions exist in Nicaragua, in line with the provisions of the Esquipulas II peace plan signed by area presidents in 1987.

According to Montalvan, the agreement reached during the last summit is "the last chance" being given by the democratic leaders of the isthmus to their Nicaraguan counterpart, Daniel Ortega, to comply with Esquipulas.

Montalvan said the contras will wait until the Sandinists make the amendments to the communication and electoral laws as they promised in El Salvador; otherwise, the contras will again request military aid "wherever" to resume the armed struggle.

He said that, in contacts with U.S. State Department officials, he had been assured President George Bush's administration "will not abandon" the contras.

On 14 February Presidents Vinicio Cerezo (Guatemala), Jose Azcona (Honduras), Jose Napoleon Duarte (El Salvador), Daniel Ortega (Nicaragua), and Oscar Arias (Costa Rica) signed a declaration in El Salvador establishing conditions for the democratization of Nicaragua and the dismantling of the contras.

Anti-Sandinist Politicians To Return to Managua

PA1602224789 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2041 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] San Jose, 16 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—Leaders of the anti-Sandinist Democratic Center Coalition (CCD) agreed today in Costa Rica to participate in their country's political struggle within the framework of the agreement reached by the Central American presidents at the 13 and 14 February summit in El Salvador.

Alfredo Cesar, Jose Davila, Roberto Urroz, Fernando Aguero, and Mario Alfaro, who represent five of the six political parties that belong to a coalition in exile opposed to the Managua government, have signed a declaration in San Jose offering to return to Managua.

Cesar represents the Southern Opposition Bloc; Davila, the Christian Democratic Party; Urroz, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement; Aguero, the Nicaraguan Conservative Party in Exile; and Alfaro, the Social Democratic Party.

Their purpose, they said, is "to rejoin the nation's life once the Sandinist regime complies with the agreement reached at the presidential summit."

To do this, they have decided "to support a single opposition platform" to face the FSLN in the elections that "must be held under international supervision."

In addition to backing the agreements reached in El Salvador in the search for peace and democratization in Nicaragua, the CCD acknowledged "the heroic struggle waged by the fighters of the Nicaraguan resistance, which has made it possible for the Esquipulas peace plan to make progress in Nicaragua."

The sixth member of the CCD directorate, Oscar Sugranez, from the Independent Liberal Party, did not sign the declaration for unknown reasons.

Opposition Comment on Summit Agreements
PA1602174989 Managua Radio Noticias in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Social Christian Party leader Dr Luis Vega Miranda has stated that the agreements reached by the Central American presidents in San Salvador do not go far enough. In our newscast, we bring you statements by the Nicaraguan opposition leader.

[Begin recording] [Vega] Regarding Daniel Ortega's undertakings, they do not satisfy the Nicaraguan opposition, first of all, because Ortega only agreed to amend that part of the electoral law that deals with elections and did not promise to amend the Constitution, which is what the Nicaraguan opposition has been demanding. In addition, I feel that moving up the date of the elections does not constitute a process of integral democratization. Rather, I feel that by moving the elections up, the opposition is prevented from organizing a unified internal opposition front and that this is a malicious move by the FSLN to ensure that it remains in power.

It seems to me that there are no guarantees that labor unions will become democratic or that there will be economic democracy. President Ortega does not make reference to—and this is something that we must examine closely—the abolition of repressive organizations such as the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committee].

As I have said, the process of Nicaraguan democratization is not only political. The agreement does not talk about dismantling the fusion of state, party, and Army, nor of abolishing compulsory military service. I believe the agreement leaves political exiles and members of the Nicaraguan Resistance [RN] in a very vulnerable position in terms of the possibility of their reincorporation into civilian life.

I think that the national dialogue will have to demand a great deal in exchange for the possibility of participating in the elections that are to be moved up, since—I repeat—Ortega has agreed only to amend the electoral law and not the Constitution.

It seems to me that the opposition has been calling for a referendum, a consultation with the people, to find out whether the people accept or reject the amendments to the Constitution. I think that the essence of the matter lies there and not in Daniel Ortega's superficial undertakings. In addition, I think Ortega has made the expulsion of the contras from Honduran territory a condition for granting amnesty to political prisoners. I believe that, in general, the RN has been seriously weakened in terms of its image abroad and that the internal opposition does not have all the guarantees needed for a process of integral democratization. What this country needs to solve its problems is a dialogue between the government, the internal opposition, and the RN. Generally speaking, that is what could take place now. [end recording]

In referring to the agreements signed by the Central American presidents in El Salvador, Social Democratic Party President Guillermo Potoy said that there is still much that needs to be discussed. Potoy made the following statements in this regard:

[Begin recording] [Potoy] I am pleased to say that we are studying the proposal or the agreements reached by the Central American presidents. With regard to moving up the date of the elections, we realize, quite obviously, that the matter is also left up to discussions with the Nicaraguan political parties, because the Constitution does not allow the elections to be moved up. There are specific, 6-year [presidential] terms, with specific dates for the inauguration—9 January—and with elections in early November of the appropriate year.

Regarding the issue of amnesty, it is partial and not total as had been requested. We can list other important matters, such as municipal elections, which would also be included. However, even though this topic deserves closer examination, I can say that in difficult times, such as those Nicaragua is now experiencing, it is possible to reach political agreements. It seems to me that, by looking beyond the scope of the Constitution—which many people have said would amount to an alteration of the constitutional order and, for all practical purposes, violate the Constitution—there could be what I just mentioned, namely, political agreements for the purpose of working our way out of a difficult situation.

Therefore, it seems to me that although the Esquipulas agreements do not provide a complete solution to Nicaragua's problems, they do provide an opportunity or the possibility of finding a way out, since one of the principal requirements in these Central American countries has always been a clear definition of who will hold power and the knowledge that power has been attained as a result of free elections. Should a political accord be

reached allowing free elections in Nicaragua, I believe that there are possibilities that those individuals chosen by the people will assume power. The people's vote would decide. If that is achieved, I believe that an understanding is possible.

Of course, we do not know how far electoral law amendments will go. I understand that this must be decided together with the political parties and this will show whether or not the possibility is there. [end recording]

The San Salvador summit was a meeting among heads of state. There is now a need for a meeting between rulers and the ruled, according to Gilberto Cuadra, president of the Higher Council of Private Enterprise, COSEP.

President Ortega Congratulates Jamaica's Manley

PA1702032889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1504 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Text] Managua, 14 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—The Nicaraguan Presidency announced today that Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega sent a congratulatory message to Jamaica's socialist leader Michael Manley on the occasion of his 9 February election victory.

The Nicaraguan president's note states: "This victory represents an important step forward for democracy, social development, and peace in our region at a time when a spirit of unity and agreement is spreading throughout Latin America and the Caribbean."

Ortega states in his message that Manley's Peoples National Party and the Jamaican people "deserved the election victory." The message adds: "I am sure, dear friend," that under your administration, the relationship of friendship and cooperation that exists between Jamaica and Nicaragua will be greatly strengthened, and this will contribute to "definite progress toward a Caribbean of peace and development."

Panama

Solis Palma Comments on Presidential Summit

PA1602234989 Panama City MEDIODIA in Spanish 15 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Panamanian President Manuel Solis Palma announced yesterday that he will travel to Japan on 20 February to attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito.

The chief executive said he expects to arrive in Tokyo on 24 February, and plans to return to Panama on 28 February.

On a different topic, Solis Palma said he hoped the meeting of Central American presidents in San Salvador is "a positive step for peace and harmony in the region based on dialogue and compromise."

The Panamanian president stated that the Contadora Group was based on these principles, and that Panama had always tried to achieve those goals.

With regard to the 7 May general elections, Solis stated that in its eagerness to install a government in Panama that would serve U.S. interests, the United States had devised a double strategy.

He explained that the Americans intend to say that if the opposition wins it is a sign that the elections were honest, but if the opposition loses they will claim the elections were fraudulent.

Manuel Solis Palma also referred to the Nicaraguan Government's plan to build a sea-level canal, stating that such a project "could put an end to the importance of the Panamanian interoceanic waterway," but he said Nicaraguans have every right to seek their country's well-being.

The Panamanian head of state also said the government "plans" to pay the 13th-month bonus it owes to 154,000 public employees. Solis expressed his willingness to meet with the public employees' leaders to find a solution to any difficulty that may arise in meeting the government's payroll.

On the subject of Air Panama's problems, Solis said the government's policy on the matter has not been fully decided yet.

Solis Palma said: We have talked about keeping the company as an integral part of the government, as a sign of sovereignty, but on different occasions it has been said that it would be better to sell the company, because we do not have enough resources to keep it running efficiently.

The president added that, "we have been moving between these two extremes, and so far no final decision has been reached. The company continues to lose money, even though, curiously enough, it has lost less during the crisis than when we had resources."

Commentary Terms U.S. Policy 'Dead End'

PA1602221789 Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish 15 Feb 89 p 6

[Commentary by Luis Manuel Martinez: "Washington in Limbo: Dead End"]

[Text] William Branigin, a foreign correspondent for THE WASHINGTON POST, published an analysis on Panama in which he states that the campaign started in June 1986 has reached a dead end.

He notes that General Frederick Woerner, head of the U.S. Southern Command, is not on speaking terms with U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis, whom he describes as "inept," and blames the U.S. State Department for the political vacuum created by the economic measures against Panama.

He adds that the usual friction in U.S. bureaucracy is repeated in Panama: the Pentagon on one side, the Canal Commission on the other, and the State Department pulling the strings without having the slightest idea of the repercussions and mix-ups that end up harming the objectives, or the main objective, of any operation. Branigin, after thoroughly sounding out all political levels in Washington, stresses that the Bush administration does not know how to rid itself of Eric Delvalle. That is, how can it shake off that despicable Tuturo, who even called for a commercial embargo and an invasion by the Marines. He did that just to be proclaimed president and pursue his sole commitment to abolish the canal treaties and return the country to 1903 when we were under the abominable framework of a permanent U.S. presence on our territory.

Those who are plotting in Washington to enslave Panama know that on 1 September a new Panamanian president will be sworn in for a 5-year term. Tuturo will have no justification for holding on, but his cry demanding an increase in the undeserved punishment for a peaceful people will remain in the Panamanians' minds.

March 3d marks the 1st anniversary of Tuturo's ignominious request. Tuturo's ignominious request will be a year old on 3 March. That date is a blemish on our flag, a blemish demanding total vindication.

In his report, Branigin accuses Gabriel Lewis Galindo of supplying false information to U.S. agencies so a surprise action be carried out against General Manuel Antonio Noriega to kidnap or kill him.

He adds that Lewis Galindo used his position as ambassador during Torrijos' time to become richer and to benefit from shady deals.

The outcome is terrifying. The masterminds of the plot are ashamed. They shy away from newsmen, skip routine analyses and evaluations, and provide no information or suggestions to the National Security Council. The businessmen affected by the nonpayment of taxes, the Canal Zone workers who have income and educational taxes deducted from their salaries, the Panama Canal Commission, and the Southern Command are involved in a lobbying effort to get these monstrous economic sanctions lifted.

Branigin points out that it is absurd that U.S. Embassy employees pay their taxes while the Canal Commission withholds toll revenues that belong to Panama, and canal employees' tax payments are withheld but not paid.

Confidential reports disclose that the CIA is openly opposed to the policy pursued by the previous administration to the point that active agents in Panama have received instructions and complaints from their headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

David Miller, an expert on economic pressure and Servant [Servilista, play on the word Civilista] Crusade sympathizer, was spreading rumors and forging documents and decrees that never appeared in the Official Gazette. The State Department had no other choice but to reprimand and then transfer him.

The economic measures have lost all their initial impact. Branigin announced that all banking restrictions will be lifted in April.

The business groups and the wealthy bourgeoisie that waved white handkerchiefs and honked their car horns in the summer of 1987 "are now skeptical and distrustful."

The general consensus is that Panama will come out stronger after this trial. It will come out a much more independent nation. The most recalcitrant opposition members came to the conclusion that "there is no reason for us to be subjected to U.S. interests. Sooner or later we had to face reality. We must remain standing on our own two feet. Reagan gave us that great lesson."

In conclusion, Branigin did not ignore the basic problem he unearthed while in Washington: "There are no immediate plans or specific answers for Panama. In Latin America, Noriega is now more popular than before."

2 U.S. Citizens Arrested at Military Base

PA1702002689 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2330 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Two U.S. citizens were arrested last night in military areas of Rio Hato. They were carrying a map that was marked with key points of the country, a camera, film, travelers' checks, and accessories used by divers. In a clearly suspicious manner, they looked like individuals who were gathering intelligence information.

The individuals detained by the military authorities are U.S. citizens (George Irving Pittard), 45 years old, from California, and (Owen Norris Seller), 48 years old, from Pennsylvania. These individuals were traveling in a rented car. They are being investigated concerning their presence near military and security areas near Rio Hato military base while in the possession of maps, photographic equipment, a compass, and other accessories used by frogmen.

A Panama Defense Forces officer explained to Televisora Nacional reporters the reason why U.S. citizens (Pittard) and (Seller) were arrested.

[Begin unidentified officer recording] These gentlemen, (Seller Owen) and (George Pittard), were found in the Farallon River at 1600 today, 15 February 1989, while they were entering the security area of the Omar Torrijos Military Base. They were unable to explain what they were doing in the military area of the Omar Torrijos Military Base. They were using a rented car to carry out their incursions into different strategic areas of the

Republic of Panama. We can see these points were marked on the map found among their possessions. We can state that some of the points are Punta Burica, Puerto Armuelles, Penonome, Anton, El Valle, Farallon, and Rio. They also said they visited the Costa Rican border area. [end recording]

The arrest of these U.S. citizens, who were in a position to spy on Panamanian military bases, has increased the evidence against the U.S. citizens who are constantly violating the Panama Canal treaties. The authorities are working to clearly establish the reason for the presence of these U.S. citizens at the Rio Hato base and the purpose of their presence in an area strictly reserved for Panamanian military use.

COLINA's Duque Speaks to Sugar Mill Workers

PA1602205489 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1726 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Speech by Carlos Duque, National Liberation Coalition, COLINA, presidential candidate, at the opening of the sugarcane harvest at La Victoria sugar mill in Veraguas Province—live]

[Text] Thank you very much for your patience. I understand that with this heat it is uncomfortable to be waiting here.

Your Excellency Manuel Solis Palma, minister in charge of the Presidency; Acting Agricultural Development Minister Luis Olmedo Castillo; National Bank of Panama Manager Rafael Arosemena; Ivan Gonzalez, acting deputy agricultural development minister; Veraguas Province Governor Mateo Castillero; La Victoria Corporation Director Alejandro Vernaza; La Victoria Corporation subdirector Miguel Velasquez; La Victoria sugar mill director Jose Maria Barria; Major Miguel Aleman Mendoza, chief of the 3d Military Zone of Veraguas; representatives of the national executive committees of the COLINA member parties; members of the agricultural sector; directors of the agricultural sector; regional directors of state institutions; special guests; sugarcane cutters; area residents; ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to begin my speech by publicly recognizing the efforts and dedication of His Excellency President Manuel Solis Palma. I have proof of his efforts and determination to begin this harvest, which is very important for the country's agricultural sector.

I believe peasants never abandoned the trench of dignity. It is only fair to recognize the efforts made by the National Bank of Panama and by the Agricultural Development Bank and the contribution and participation of Banco de Iberoamerica and Banco Exterior.

Gentlemen, we have a duty toward you. One of the highest honors a Torrijist can have is to have the opportunity to speak here at this giant proof of national development, La Victoria sugar mill, especially on a day like today, which marks the beginning of a new sugarcane harvest and a new beginning of the Panamanian process of liberation.

La Victoria sugar mill is living proof of the development strategy we inherited from that man from Veraguas whose name was Omar Torrijos. This sugar mill has changed and continues to change the country's social and economic panorama. This development turned our country into a homeland that offers jobs and opportunities to all its children. It was designed to turn Panama into a productive nation and into a master of its own destiny.

This is an appropriate occasion to talk about two basic aspects. The first is to pay homage to those who have defended this sugar mill and have taken it forward despite bureaucrats and insensitive people who tried to destroy this work. The second is to admit that La Victoria sugar mill is part of a large national development strategy, which in the last 5 years was interrupted, but which must now resume.

Today we pay homage to Torrijos' works and we resume the struggle he began. We begin COLINA's liberationist campaign precisely here at La Victoria sugar mill and with this new harvest. COLINA will defend Panamanian nationality and will begin a new phase of change to benefit all Panamanians, as Torrijists have always wanted to do.

Our nation's independence and freedom will help us make our own decisions on the country's present and future, and our sovereignty will be our tool to carry out those decisions throughout the country. That is why we rejected and will always reject all forms of foreign intervention in Panama's internal affairs regardless of where they come from, because those affairs have to do only with Panamanians. We rejected and defeated Ronald Reagan's administration's arrogance and interventionism, and our people are heroically resisting the effects of the bad U.S. Government's economic aggression.

Let them not come now and give us advice and recommendations about what we should or should not do, because we will always give the same response. Panamanians have grown up in this struggle and we need neither tutors nor godfathers.

The last U.S. Administration made serious errors because of its mistaken policy toward Central America and Panama. If the new U.S. Administration is honest and realistic, it must correct those errors. We are realistic and sensible.

We are willing to hold a dialogue and find an understanding that is honorable and fitting for all but, above all, that is respectful of Panama's independence, sovereignty, self-determination, and dignity. No Latin American country has negotiated with the United States as much as we have. Nobody has more experience in

negotiating with the United States than Panamanians. Nobody has been as successful as the Torrijists in these negotiations because we, the Panamanians, know the U.S. people very well—that is why we can negotiate with them. Panama is a small country and has waged a heroic, risky, and sacrificial struggle for our independence and for the independence, sovereignty, and freedom of all Latin Americans. Those who truly want to show goodwill toward the Panamanian people must offer us their solidarity.

That is why, in the midst of the aggression against our country and the economic crisis that it has caused, we have the integrity and trust in our own people to call for clear and clean elections in accordance with our Constitution and laws.

We are proud to be Panamanians and show the world great Torrijist projects such as the La Victoria sugar mill that, despite aggression, has continued to produce and provide jobs and security for thousands of Panamanians. We are proud of the agricultural reforms in Veraguas and the advances made in this country thanks to this revolutionary process.

The present crisis has destroyed myths and shown the nation's deep-seated strength. Previously some people thought, especially the gringos and the oligarchs, that Panama was only a canal and foreign military bases, and that the country would fall if we did not have these. Now, that they [the United States] steal the canal toll payments, withhold our country's funds, and U.S. firms do not pay their taxes, it is clear that our country survives thanks to those who work the land. They closed the banks, restricted international services, and hindered our foreign trade, but the true country, the interior, kept on, and still continues to work to produce and resist to defend our nationalism and the dignity of all Panamanians.

All this shows that the Torrijist strategy was and is the correct one, because thanks to the projects it promoted, the country has been able to resist aggression. This proves that the COLINA program is the right one, because its strategy is to continue strengthening the agriculture producers and the productive economy of the country's interior. The Torrijist program was discontinued and abandoned in 1984, but now things are going to change. Things are going to change because COLINA is going to resume the Torrijist program. We are going to diversify and internationalize our commercial and financial services. We are going to expand the world trade communications facilities our country offers and not depend solely on one foreign power; instead, we will implement our famous phrase "for the benefit of the world." ["pro mundi beneficio"; phrase that appears on the Panamanian national seal] We are going to do all this to make our nation more independent and to benefit all Panamanians, not only a few priviledged oligarchs. The producers in the country's interior have been the resistance's backbone. They have the honor of having defeated Ronald Reagan's aggression and, as such, it is fitting that they receive a substantial part of the fruits and benefits that should result from this victory. We are not, we do not want to be, and we will never be a colony, and that is why we have taken a nationalist stance; it is COLINA's stance. Colina will know how to honor its commitment to the Panamanian producers, peasants, agriculture workers, the people who live in the interior, and the productive firms, such as this La Victoria sugar mill, which is a symbol of Torrijism and national liberation. COLINA will struggle for a patriotic and honorable future for all Panamanians.

Thank you.

Planning Minister on Normalizing Finances

PA1602131789 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 14 Feb 89

[Statement by Gustavo Gonzalez, minister of planning and economic policy, on 14 February; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Panama is negotiating a considerable sum of money while the government seeks a return to normal relations with various worldwide financial organizations. So far, Panama has contacted all of its creditors, starting with multilateral organizations such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank, and the IMF. IMF officials have already visited Panama twice, and next week, if possible, I will meet with them in Washington to further discuss a return to normal relations.

Once these problems are solved, we will be in a position to refinance our debt and rebuild our entire financial structure with the help of the international commercial banks that have loaned Panama almost $2 billion. This is an important preliminary step toward gaining access to new sources of financial aid and of obtaining increased aid from the same multilateral organizations and from private banks.

Weekly Review of Political Situation

PA1502221589

[Editorial Report] The following is a review of material from Panamanian and regional media related to the current political situation in Panama. This review covers the period from 7 to 13 February and includes some items that have been processed in fuller form.

Domestic Political Affairs

Election Preparations

According to Panamanian media, all parties seeking office in the 7 May elections submitted the necessary documents by the 7 February deadline for registration. Panama City Telemetro Television on 7 February broadcast statements by Panama Electoral Tribunal (TEP) Secretary General Carlos Bonilla confirming that all

parties had submitted their documents and that "once these documents have been reviewed, a resolution accepting the nominations will be issued."

According to an article by Claudio Herrera Jimenez in the 10 February edition of LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA, TEP figures indicate that "1,184,318 Panamanians will vote on 7 May." Herrera added that the Panamanian people will be voting for "a president, two vice presidents, 67 legislators, and 505 corregimiento representatives."

As for TEP's preelection activities, a 9 February Panama City ACAN dispatch datelined Panama City cites TEP President Yolanda Pulice de Rodriguez as promising "clean" elections. The dispatch adds that Pulice de Rodriguez also said she does not "object" to the presence of "international observers" during the upcoming elections and added that there can be no fraud "because representatives of each party will be present at the voting tables." The Panama City newspaper, MEDIODIA, on 10 February carried an unattributed article on a news conference by Pulice de Rodriguez. During the news conference, it was revealed that "in January, the government gave TEP 600,000 balboas in cash along with logistical support worth 1 million balboas." It was also announced that "Panamanians currently living abroad will not be allowed to vote at Panamanian embassies." Similar reports were carried by Panama City Circuito RPC Television on 9 February and Panama City Domestic Service on 12 February.

The issue of residence and candidate eligibility was also covered in the media during the week in review. In its "Political Gossip" column on 9 February, MEDIODIA reported that TEP had "rejected" former Labor Party Legislator Mayin Correa's candidacy because "of her current residence abroad." Civic Crusade leader Alberto Conte's request was also denied for this reason. Circuito RPC Television on 9 February and MEDIODIA on 10 February carried statements by Alfredo Ramirez, president of the Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement (MOLIRENA), who said that his party had appealed TEP's decision to keep Mayin Correa off the MOLIRENA ticket, describing the ruling as "illegal." Telemetro Television on 9 February reported that "TEP's General Secretariat has been receiving appeals from the Civic Opposition Democratic Alliance (ADOC) on behalf of nominated candidates currently abroad." MOLIRENA's legal representative, Rogelio Cruz, told Telemetro Television that "TEP has overlooked the fact that the amendments to the Electoral Law, approved in September 1988, clearly state that a current legislator's residence cannot change. Therefore, a temporary move for reasons beyond the legislator's control cannot be interpreted as loss of residence."

Telemetro then reported, also on 9 February, that TEP Secretary General Carlos Bonilla reviewed and then accepted the appeals, adding that "it is important to have proof that you have lived at an address for a year prior to the elections. This is established in the law as a prerequisite for all candidates."

Circuito RPC Television on 9 February approached former TEP President Cesar Quintero on the residency issue. Quintero said that "Article 147 of the Constitution must be respected" and that the residency prerequisite "is an absurd requirement." He added that "unfortunately, the requirement is applied to only some of the people."

Opposition Concerns, Election Activities

Despite repeated reassurances by TEP that the 7 May elections will be "clean," the media have reported doubts expressed by the Panamanian opposition. Telemetro Television on 10 February carried statements by Civic Crusade spokesman Jose Raul Mulino, who said that "the rules of the game place the opposition at a disadvantage." Mulino continued to say that "there are no electoral guarantees for the opposition. TEP is committed to the current government; except for a few minor changes, this is the same tribunal that presided over the controversial 1984 elections." Mulino concluded by saying that "voting yes for the National Liberation Coalition (COLINA) is the same as voting for continuity of the current regime; meanwhile, a no vote is a vote for democracy, human rights, and decency in the country as represented by the ADOC ticket."

In a similar vein, Telemetro Television on 7 February carried statements by Raul Ossa, a legislator for the Christian Democratic Party (PDC); and Antonio Arias, candidate for legislator for the Authentic Liberal Party (PLA). Ossa said that "as of this moment, we are going to begin testing TEP. We want TEP to show us what side it's on. We are going to ask it to allow us the use of the government media. According to the Electoral Law, we have a right to use the government media." Arias added: "We want the closed media to be reopened; we want complete freedom to meet throughout the country...we are the strongest force this country has ever had, and we are going to defend our votes. We want to make sure that no president, legislator, or representative will ever have his legal victory taken from him."

Meanwhile, the media reported ADOC's desire for international observers to oversee the 7 May elections. Hamburg DPA on 7 February carried a dispatch datelined Panama City that cited ADOC second vice presidential candidate Guillermo Ford as saying that "the opposition had requested that delegates attending the new Venezuelan President's inauguration send international observers to monitor the elections scheduled for 7 May." Likewise, Circuito RPC Television on 9 February broadcast an interview with Ford during which he added that "observers can serve to guarantee that the elections will be what the Panamanian people truly want." Also on 9 February, Circuito RPC Television carried statements by ADOC first vice presidential candidate Ricardo Arias

Calderon noting that the "Christian Democratic International offered its support before the international community and offered to send observers to ensure that the upcoming elections, rather than being another confrontation among rival Panamanians, can contribute to *Panama's democratization*...."

Concerning ADOC's campaign plans, Telemetro Television on 9 February carried an interview with ADOC presidential candidate Guillermo Endara, who said that "we are organizing a campaign that will make these 90 days a great struggle on the people's behalf...." Endara continued to say that the alliance he heads has scheduled tours to the interior and areas surrounding Panama City. MEDIODIA also reported on ADOC's campaign plans in its 13 February edition. Endara is quoted in the report as saying that if he wins, "his first task will be to rebuild the country's economy."

COLINA Election Activities

Panamanian media continued to give extensive coverage to the activities of the proregime parties. Both broadcast and print media on 7 February carried lengthy reports on as well as the texts of the speeches delivered by the COLINA candidates at the various party conventions held in Panama City on 6 February. CRITICA alone on 7 February carried six reports on the conventions held by the COLINA parties. All Panamanian newspapers reported fully on the conventions in their 7 and 8 February issues.

LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA on 9 February carried an unattributed report on COLINA presidential candidate Carlos Duque's first statements to the press after being "formally named presidential candidate" of COLINA. After thanking the coalition's supporters, Duque said that "thousands upon thousands of Panamanians understand and know that our future is at stake... we have not embarked on a traditional electoral process to seek personal gain." Meanwhile, MATUTINO on 9 February quoted Duque as saying that "we will be able to meet the four basic goals we have proposed: national liberation, total sovereignty, compliance with the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, and national unity."

On 13 February LA REPUBLICA carried a NOVOSTI Press Agency report on a breakfast for the press hosted by COLINA. NOVOSTI reports that the meeting was held "amid rumors of possible violence that could accompany the upcoming elections in Panama." During the meeting, Duque told the press that "Panama is a peaceful country." He also reiterated that COLINA is a group of patriotic forces "in search of strengthening self-determination in Panama."

Telemetro Television on 10 February also carried statements by Duque on COLINA's "possibilities" during the May elections. Duque maintained that "the opposition does not have the support of the people" and added that "for the first time in Panama, an election based on ideology is going to be held." Duque described the opposition as "a small group without the support of the people."

Amid the reports on COLINA's activities this week, *MEDIODIA on 13 February carried a brief article* reporting that COLINA presidential candidate Carlos Duque had been admitted to a "hospital in the interior." The report adds that he was admitted for a "checkup" as he wants to "lose some weight."

Noriega Meeting With COLINA, Invitation to ADOC

In addition to their meetings with the press, COLINA's candidates and legal representatives were reported to have paid a visit to General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces (FDP). LA REPUBLICA on 13 February ran a photo of Noriega together with the COLINA representatives with a caption that read: "The coalition today reaffirmed public recognition of Gen Noriega for his work within the national liberation movement."

Also on 13 February, ACAN carried a dispatch datelined Panama City reporting that Noriega had "invited the opposition parties' presidential and vice presidential candidates to participate in a dialogue to discuss guarantees for the 7 May elections." The dispatch adds that "Noriega, the 'strong man' of the Panama regime since 1983, asked that the participants in the elections show 'respect' for one another to avoid provocations that could 'discredit the elections.'" ACAN on 14 February reported ADOC's response to Noriega's invitation via a communique stating that "the only matter (the opposition) will discuss with Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega 'is the date and conditions for his retirement as chief of the FDP.'" In the communique, the opposition also accused Noriega of "human rights violations" and "keeping the Electoral Tribunal in the hands of biased magistrates."

Reports of Violence, Sabotage

Panama City Televisora Nacional, which is run by the FDP, reported on 9 February that its "facilities were the target of a terrorist attack early today...a bomb, which exploded at approximately 0300, was placed on one side of the building on Bolivar Avenue." Also on 9 February, Televisora Nacional carried a "Citizens' Alert" segment read by news director Julio Ortega, who described the bomb as "a despicable terrorist act." MEDIODIA on 10 February reported that Televisora Nacional News Director Julio Ortega said that he had "no knowledge concerning the identity of the persons who planted the bomb."

LA REPUBLICA's 9 February editorial described the bombing of Televisora Nacional as "an intolerable, shameful, and repugnant act" and charges "terrorists Eduardo Herrera, Augusto Villalaz, Mayin Correa, Bosco Vallarino, Moises del Rio, and former Lieutenant Worrell" of ordering the "detonation of the bomb that

damaged the television studio facilities." Similarly, Televisora Nacional on 10 February carried statements by COLINA candidate Carlos Duque strongly condemning "the terrorist attack against the Televisora Nacional studios." According to Duque, the television station was "attacked to silence COLINA and instill fear among the population."

LA REPUBLICA on 9 February also carried an unattributed report blaming the Panamanian opposition for the bombing of the television station. The report states that "opposition groups have begun to carry out terrorist actions to destabilize the country..." The report links the bombing with "messages broadcast in December through the clandestine radio, La Voz de la Libertad...."

Another "sabotage action" was reported by Jorge Calvo in LA REPUBLICA on 10 February. Calvo reported that a "telephone line distribution panel" in Villa Grecia, a neighborhood in Panama City, was destroyed. Villa Grecia legislator Reynaldo Rodriguez charged that this was an attack carried out "by the political opposition" and that "it is part of the escalation of aggression and violence that the political opposition is already attempting to impose on the country."

A report on another alleged sabotage operation was carried by MEDIODIA on 13 February. The MEDIODIA report states that "unidentified persons have ruined material in TEP's computerized data bank." According to the report, "key data for the elections...were sent into 'limbo'...." It is believed that this action was carried out by "disgruntled" former TEP employees who were "fired from the institution."

On 8 February, Televisora Nacional carried a report on a weapons cache found in the home of a Panamanian citizen in Costa Rica. CRITICA on 10 February carried a "special service" report on the recent "discovery of a cache of large-caliber weapons in the home of Panamanian citizen Jose Manuel Echevers." According to the report, Echevers "is Eric Arturo Delvalle's close friend and associate."

Havana PRENSA LATINA on 10 February carried a report by Raimundo Lopez stating that Panamanian state security organizations "are investigating a possible connection among yesterday's attack on a state television studio, sabotage of telephone installations in the capital, and a weapons arsenal found in the home of a Panamanian opposition member in Costa Rica."

In his 10 February "Today in the World" commentary carried by Televisora Nacional, Luis Manuel Martinez commented that the opposition, "convinced of its defeat," has now resorted "to the weapon of cowards: terrorism." Martinez concludes by saying: "Beware terrorists, the Panamanian people's hatred for you grows as each day passes."

Relations With the United States

Alleged Treaty Violations

Throughout the week, Panamanian media repeatedly charged the United States with violating the Torrijos-Carter Treaties. On 8 February, in his "Vox Populi" column published in LA REPUBLICA, Luis Restrepo praised the appointment of Panamanian citizen George Mercier as the Panama Canal Commission's chief of personnel. At the same time, Restrepo lashes out at the U.S. Government for appointing "May Kay Vidaurri, a rabid anti-Panamanian," as deputy chief of personnel, thus "violating the treaty clause that calls for increasing participation of Panamanians in executive positions."

On 10 February, Televisora Nacional carried a report alleging another violation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties by U.S. Army troops. The report stated that "a convoy was stopped by customs and FDP officials because the Army vehicles did not have a Panamanian military police escort as required by the canal treaties." The report added that "this incident is a link in the chain of treaty violations constantly reported by the Panamanian Government."

LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL on 12 February carried an unattributed report on the alleged involvement of U.S. soldiers in gunrunning operations in "open violation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties." The involvement of these soldiers was reportedly discovered during an investigation into the arrest of four Panamanians in Jamaica. The Panamanians, who were later deported to Panama, were charged with involvement in trafficking weapons to Colombia.

Meanwhile, in statements carried by DPA on 13 February, General Noriega mentioned recent "Panamanian media reports of involvement of U.S. Southern Command members in arms trafficking." Noriega said that he will "protect borders so peoples and governments are not destabilized."

In his "Let the People Judge" column in MATUTINO on 13 February, Ricardo Lince charges U.S. Southern Command involvement in "hostile acts" ranging from "communiques clarifying previous false communiques, espionage activities in rental vehicles, and provocations against FDP personnel using classic harassment tactics, to the transit of weapons from Costa Rica to Panama and Colombia." Lince adds that "this is part of a plan to underscore U.S. support for Panama's political opposition, which needs the U.S. military presence now that COLINA is becoming an overwhelming force..."

Durenberger Visit

A visit by Republican Minnesota Senator David Durenberger was also noted by the media. In statements to Telemetro Television on 9 February, ADOC presidential candidate Guillermo Endara discussed the visit, saying:

"I have met with senators on various occasions, and our conversations have usually been of a professional and political nature." MEDIODIA on 13 February quoted Endara as saying that he and Senator Durenberger had met "over a friendly lunch" and discussed Panamanian and U.S. political matters. Telemetro Television on 9 February also carried comments by COLINA second vice presidential candidate Aquilino Boyd on Senator Durenberger's visit. Boyd said "it is obvious that Durenberger is participating in the psychological war the United States is waging against our country."

Candidates on U.S. Relations

Two members of the COLINA ticket were reported to have expressed their willingness to improve relations with the United States. Telemetro Television on 9 February carried statements by COLINA second vice presidential candidate Aquilino Boyd, who said that "Panama has expressed a desire to normalize relations with the United States..." Likewise, a Madrid EFE dispatch dated 13 February reports that COLINA presidential candidate Carlos Duque said that "he is willing to improve relations with Washington," but warned that "the United States should not meddle in Panamanian affairs...."

For his part, ADOC presidential candidate Guillermo Endara said that the United States "must abide by the canal treaties" and added that the reports on U.S. attempts to "establish a docile government in Panama in hopes of ignoring the Canal treaties are part of a 'campaign of lies.'"

Banco Institucional Patria

Panamanian newspapers commented extensively on an article that appeared in January in THE WASHINGTON POST, attributed to Richard Wyrough, on a new FDP bank. On 27 January, Circuito RPC Television had reported that in his article Wyrough said the new FDP bank, the Banco Institucional Patria, would "give the Panamanian military more control over the economy and would be used to launder drug money." LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA on 9 February carried an unattributed report on statements by Edgardo Lasso Valdes, president of the Panama Banking Association. The report states that Lasso Valdes is not happy with the reports that have appeared in U.S. newspapers describing Panama "as a money laundering center." Lasso Valdes said the reports present Panamanian bankers as being "corrupt" and "we will never accept that." He added that he cannot not vouch for all bankers, but "a good banker does not accept that kind of money." In its 10 February editorial, MATUTINO praises Lasso Valdes for his stance. Similar praise is expressed in CRITICA's editorial on 10 February, noting that Lasso Valdes "has destroyed another U.S. attempt to spread disinformation on the Panamanian situation."

Relations With Other Countries

Reaction to Perez Statements

The first report on statements on Panama made by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez during a live news conference carried on 4 February by Venezolana de Television Canal 8 was aired by Circuito RPC Television on 8 February. Circuito RPC Television cited a WASHINGTON POST article by Julia Preston stating that Perez "accused General Manuel Antonio Noriega of unleashing a very dramatic regressive process in Panama and called on Noriega to step down" in accordance with the law.

On 9 February, Circuito RPC Television carried statements by Democratic Revolutionary Party Legislator Luis Gomez who said "we respect Calos Andres Perez' stature as head of state, but we cannot allow him to interfere in our internal affairs." In regards to Perez' statements on Gen Noriega, Gomez said "I regret to say we disagree with Carlos Andres Perez." RPC Television on 9 February carried statements by ADOC vice presidential candidate Ricardo Arias Calderon who said "I think Carlos Andres Perez' statements are extremely important." Arias added that the Latin American heads of state "knew democracy is the best guarantee for the canal treaties to be fulfilled... now they realize the commitment acquired by the General Omar Torrijos regime to democratize our country is not being fulfilled."

Economic Developments

The week in review began with statements from Panamanian Housing Minister Ricardo Bermudez who admits that housing problems are difficult to solve. Telemetro Television on 6 February carried statements by the Bermudez who said "these problems have led us to seek alternate sources of financing. I must admit, this has not been easy for several reasons. Unfortunately, we were accustomed to seeking funding from one place." Minister Bermudez added that the efforts of the Panamanian Government are paying off; European countries have offered to help.

Telemetro Television on 6 February carried statements by Rafael Arosemena, general manager of the National Bank of Panama, who said that if the agricultural sector is managed properly, "it should be profitable." He announced that the bank plans to increase its funds allotted to the agricultural sector by "15 million balboas." Regarding banking restrictions, Arosemena said "we must be careful, cautious...we must use the same system used when the checking account restrictions were lifted." Circuito RPC Television on 10 February carried statements by Panamanian banker Jose Fernando Cardona Mas who feels "trust in the banking system is slowly being restored." Cardona Mas added that "a slight improvement can be seen." He continued that the "basic problem" continues to be "the fact that the people cannot save money. They do not have surplus

money as a result of growing unemployment, and economic activity is not at its normal level." Cardona Mas said "the basic solution to the problem lies in better relations with the United States." Commenting on the country's political situation, Cardona Mas said "I feel the opposition has a good chance of returning to the Executive Branch. I also hope there will be no violence during the elections."

On 12 February, LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA carried a report by James Aparicio on statements by Luis Barletta, director of the Panamanian Foreign Trade Institute, that "although exports have dropped by 12 percent in 1988" these figures are "normal" compared to 1987 figures. According to Barletta, "exports in January totalled $15 million."

On 13 February, Televisora Nacional carried its "Seventh Day" program hosted by Luis Manuel Martinez. Martinez' guest was Panamanian Finance Minister Orville Goodin. During the interview, Martinez asked Minister Goodin to comment on the "total amount of revenue that Panama has not received" as a result of the situation currently being experienced by the country. Goodin said that "in 1988, Panama failed to receive more than $165 million." Goodin praised the Panamanian people's willingness to "struggle and to continue being Panamanian." MEDIODIA on 13 February carried an unattributed report on statements by Finance Minister Orville Goodin who is quoted as saying that "the U.S. aggression has destroyed 20 percent of Panama's economy." Goodin added that as a result of this situation "Panama cannot cover its debt payments" at this time.

Likewise, Televisora Nacional on 10 February carried a report stating that Panama and the FRG had ratified "an important agreement for the promotion and reciprocal protection of capital investments." Similar reports were carried by LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA on 12 February and CRITICA on 13 February.

MATUTINO on 10 February carried a report on the registration of new ships by the General Consular and Ships Directorate. According to the report, Panama was paid $38 million in registration fees, thus "fulfilling its 1988 goals."

In an unattributed article carried by LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA on 10 February, the Panamanian Institute of Tourism, IPAT, reported that during the month of January "seven cruise ships docked in Panamanian ports." Likewise, MEDIODIA on 13 February reported that the seven cruise ships brought 6,500 passengers who "left approximately $400,000 in fresh money in Panama." However, in statements to Circuito RPC Television on 10 February, Carmen "Pinky" Van der Hans, president of the Panamanian Hotel Association, said "tourism in our country will not increase if the political problem is not solved." She added that "tourism in Panama has not increased in the past few months. We had great hopes for the carnival season... however, not even 10 percent of the tourists expected visited the country." Ms Van der Hans said this problem will not be solved "until we can offer the people some kind of stability. The people are waiting to see what will happen after the elections."

Oil exploration is continuing in the Gulf of Garachine area; however, on 11 February Panama City Domestic Service reported that only "volcanic sediment" had been extracted from the "Anayansi" well.

LA REPUBLICA on 13 February carried a report on statements made by Passport Department Director Melva Emiliani de Pimento on the issuance of passports in 1988. According to Mrs Pimento, "159,807 passports were issued last year." Mrs Pimento added that "this was due to the country's problems... and to the fact that some travel agencies encouraged Panamanians to leave the country in search of new horizons." LA REPUBLICA on 14 February carried a brief correction to this report stating that "59,807 and not 159,807 passports were issued in 1988."

Mental Health Problems

Another report on the effects that the crisis has had on people was carried by Telemetro Television on 7 February. Dr Juan Manuel Benitez, director of the National Psychiatric Hospital, stated that "in the past few months, the Panamanian people's mental health has been affected as a result of the country's economic and political crisis." Dr Benitez added that the outpatient clinic is seeing "more patients with complaints ranging from depression and anxiety to impotence and drug use." Dr Benitez said that in some cases it is necessary to hospitalize the "extremely depressed and suicidal patient."

Argentina

Caputo Comments on Menem's Remarks on Falklands

PY1602134988 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2301 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 15 Feb (TELAM)—Dante Caputo, first on the list of UCR candidates for the Chamber of Deputies for Buenos Aires, has commented on Justicialist presidential candidate Carlos Menem's remark on the Malvinas Islands. Caputo said: "I am concerned when such grave matters as the blood of the Argentine people and the integrity of our territory are discussed in such a superficial and irresponsible manner by a person who hopes to be the president of the Republic."

Caputo's statements are datelined New York but were disseminated in Buenos Aires by the Buenos Aires UCR Committee. Caputo said Menem's remarks were "very serious," and added, "as usual, a series of clarifications and corrections have to be desperately made afterward."

Caputo added: "In only a few months the Argentine people have heard the most astonishing series of contradictory remarks on the Malvinas Islands. Menem has gone all the way from arguing that the issue of sovereignty should be dropped to predicting new bloodshed."

After stressing that "the damage has already been done," Caputo said: "I can only ask Mr Menem, as an Argentine citizen, to be more serious when speaking on issues regarding the legal and political continuity of the nation."

Alfonsin Welcomes Malian President Traore

PY1602204789 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1650 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 16 Feb (TELAM)—Malian President Moussa Traore arrived at the Metropolitan Airport just before 1500 [1700 GMT] today for a 3-day official visit. He was met at the airport by President Raul Alfonsin.

The visiting chief of state arrived at the Metropolitan Airport from Ezeiza International Airport aboard the T-02 presidential plane. [passage omitted]

Bolivia

Negotiations With U.S. on Tin Sales Planned

PY1502184589 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The Bolivian Government will conduct diplomatic negotiations with the U.S. Government to prevent the U.S. General Services Administration from selling 7,000 tons of tin on the international market.

This information was released by Mining and Metallurgy Minister Jaime Villalobos, who said this decision would have a negative impact on the price of tin, which produces foreign exchange for Bolivia.

The mining and metallurgy minister said that since 1985, when a crisis occurred concerning tin prices on the international market, the tin-producing countries have been making continual efforts to keep price increases small by restricting exports and depleting stockpiles.

Here are the mining and metallurgy minister's remarks on this issue:

[Begin Villalobos recording] We understand that the United States is very interested in eradicating the coca plantations in our country. However, how will the coca plantations be eradicated if the mining activities are damaged in western Bolivia—when the best strategy would be to foster Bolivian mining so that mining activities are reactivated, providing jobs as an alternative to the coca plantations in the Chapare area. I believe this is damaging the Bolivian effort and contradicts that policy. [end recording]

In conclusion, the mining and metallurgy minister expressed hope that the U.S. decision will be reviewed, or that at least the volume of tin sold on the international market will be reduced.

Armed Forces Chief Unaware of Managua Offer

PY1502175089 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The commander of the Bolivian Armed Forces [Army General Edwin Peredo Camacho], has said he is unaware of any proposal made by the Sandinist government to deliver weapons to the Bolivian Army in exchange for an Arava airplane.

The commander said that he personally learned about the Nicaraguan proposal through press reports. However, nothing has been officially conveyed to the Bolivian Armed Forces, he said.

The Sandinist government of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has conveyed to the Bolivian Foreign Ministry a proposal to deliver weapons including Soviet missiles and tanks, in exchange for an Arava airplane that was destroyed in Managua, an airplane that was the property of the Bolivian people.

The commander said the Armed Forces are completely unaware of this proposal. If there is such a proposal, it would be reviewed, he said.

The commander added that the Bolivian Armed Forces are interested in preserving the current democratic system in Bolivia.

Air Force Rejects Offer

PY1602142989 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] The Bolivian Air Force has rejected a proposal under which the Nicaraguan Government would deliver Soviet war materiel in exchange for an Arava airplane that was seized last [word indistinct].

This remark was made by Aeronautics Minister Jaime Zegada [words indistinct].

Minister Zegada said that the Bolivian Air Force is willing to reach an agreement with Sandinist representatives as long as an airplane similar to the one that was seized is delivered, as stated [words indistinct]. Minister Zegada made this statement to the press.

[Begin Zegada recording] [Words indistinct] President Ortega. I am aware of the resolution. In other words, there was a firm commitment to return a similar airplane and there were talks about a Soviet-made Antonov 25. The Air Force was contacted and we answered almost immediately, indicating (?our station on this matter). [end recording]

Moving on, the minister said that the Aeronautics Ministry will insist on reaching an agreement with Nicaragua, and that the Aeronautics Ministry will coordinate future diplomatic actions with the Bolivian Foreign Ministry.

It has been learned that such actions have already begun at an internal level, and that they will be taken before international law organizations, such as the international court in The Hague, in keeping with the complexity of this case.

Government To Discuss Salvadoran Migration

PY1602153489 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] The Salvadoran Foreign Ministry has sent a telex to its Bolivian counterpart, proposing a meeting on 2 and 3 March 1989 to discuss the migration of a maximum of 50 Salvadoran families to Bolivian territory.

This information has been supplied by Walter Gumucio, the Interior Ministry under secretary for migration, who said that the agenda that the Bolivian officials will propose to their Salvadoran colleagues will be established in the next few days at a Bolivian Foreign Ministry meeting.

Gumucio reported that the Bolivian delegation that will travel to the Central American nation will include representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Campesino Affairs Ministry, the Settlement Agency, and CORDEPAZ [La Paz Development Corporation].

Gumucio reasserted that this project involving the migration of Salvadoran farm families is part of an agreement signed between the Salvadoran and Bolivian Governments during the administration of General Pereda in 1978. This agreement was updated through an exchange of reversal notes by the Bolivian and Salvadoran Foreign Ministries.

* Points of Discord Between MNR, ADN Viewed

* Compromise Attempted

33480102 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 21 Jan 89 pp 1, 10

[Text] Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), and Hugo Banzer, of Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN), began crucial negotiations yesterday for the purpose of resolving the crisis which has developed within the bipartisan alliance and has pushed the Pact for Democracy signed by both parties in 1985 to the brink of a rupture.

The demands set forth by the ADN to ensure the election of Hugo Banzer as president of the republic, the MNR proposal to extend the period of voter registration, the MNR vote condemning Garcia Meza and some observations on the nomination of candidates were the main factors which led to the worst crisis faced by the bipartisan alliance since the Pact was signed.

This political controversy was the main subject at a meeting held last Thursday, at which President Victor Paz submitted it for the consideration of the members of the National Electoral Council of the MNR. And yesterday, it was the focus of attention for the candidates running in the coming general elections for the presidency of the republic.

"The Pact for Democracy exists and is unchanged," ADN leader Walter Soriano, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, told PRESENCIA yesterday.

"In any democracy, there must be controversy, particularly if there is a pact between parties with different ideologies and positions. Each party has its own position," he added.

Deputy Edwin Rodriguez believes that the MNR has "honored all of the agreements and commitments" signed by Victor Paz and Hugo Banzer during the last 4 years of the government term.

He explained, however, that the ADN regarded the surrender of the MNR bench to the position adopted by Banzer, when Garcia was accused of the theft and sale of the campaign diaries of guerrilla fighters Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Harry "Pombo" Villegas, as a "serious problem."

"The Pact for Democracy was signed in order to defend democracy, and not to defend its enemies," Rodriguez stated.

He sees as a second problem an agreement which the ADN saw fit to sign with the MNR to guarantee the election of Hugo Banzer as the constitutional president of the republic, although the Congress has assumed the responsibility, in the final analysis, for annulling the electoral results.

"This document was halfway signed," he said, explaining that leaders Guillermo Bedregal and Raul Lema refused to sign the ADN demand. Ormachea tore up the document and walked out of the bipartisan meeting," he recounted.

When questioned by PRESENCIA, Raul Lema said that "There is no rupture" which has been caused by the disinformation reported in recent weeks. "The talks between Sanchez de Lozada and Banzer are designed to achieve a compromise and to find points of agreement and convergence in order to settle the controversy," he added.

He believes that "The crisis has been resolved and that the talks will continue during the next week."

He admitted that the congressional decision to condemn Garcia was a factor in the crisis, and he added that the "MNR could not support a position in favor of an individual who has done so much moral, political, economic and social damage to Bolivia."

* Pact With ADN Denied

La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 24 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Santa Cruz, 23 January—The presidential candidate of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, stated during a meeting with members of his party that "There is no pact or agreement that the Nationalist Democratic Alliance (ADN) will be in government power during the next term."

He emphasized that the MNR signed the Pact for Democracy exclusively in order to safeguard and advance the welfare of Bolivia. "There was no other interest in this pact."

He then went on to note that "It is true that the ADN is enjoying benefits and advantages. But at no time was there a promise that the MNR would govern now and the ADN in the future. There is not and there will be no such commitment. This election is not a bitter encounter, but a crusade, and we must win it, since we have the best proposal. And we have the proof, because we have provided the best government."

He also explained that there is an addendum, which the ADN does not want to publicize, designed to block any stalemate.

On this subject, Gonzalo Sanchez said that this document clearly provides that in the first round, each party will seek its votes in the Congress. In the second round, votes will be cast for whoever has the most votes in the first round. Sanchez noted that it is this addendum which provides the solution to any stalemate, and he said that in the next few hours, a public statement will be made "so as to prevent the spread of this report to the effect that the members of the movement will vote for the ADN."

Right and Left

In another part of his statement, the MNR candidate said that "The ADN general is to the right of us, and when I said this in an earlier speech, offense was taken. There is no shame in being on the right. I am not ashamed, for example, of being a progressive businessman. One must be what one is, and the general is a man of the right wing.

"On the left is Jaime Paz Zamora, although we do not know exactly where to place him, because he continues to change and vacillate. We know that Antonio Aranibar is on the far left. About Jaime Paz we do not know, because he, together with General Banzer, is always seeking to take over the traditional Bolivian rural sector, which is center-leftist and belongs to the MNR, a nationalist party committed to Bolivia and to the future of its vast majorities."

Later, by way of conclusion, he added that if the MNR does not remain in power, if it does not win the presidency so as to implement the instructions and directions, "This country will be headed toward disaster." He also emphasized that Bolivia needs a good government, needs seriousness and responsibility, "because the situation is dangerously fragile."

* Party Positions Compared

La Paz HOY in Spanish 25 Jan 89 p 12

[Excerpt] The failure of the Chamber of Deputies to deal with the General Budget of the Nation and the approval of a law to extend the period of registration for the general elections in the Senate have deepened the differences within the MNR-ADN [Nationalist Revolutionary Movement-Nationalist Democratic Alliance] alliance, leaders of both parties admitted yesterday.

At the conclusion of its 85th regular session, the upper chamber approved a law authorizing the voter registration offices to allow citizens to register to vote up until 45 days prior to the elections, instead of the usual 90 days, even though members of the ADN bench walked out on the session.

The draft law was proposed by the leader of the MNR bench, Raul Perez Alcala, and having been approved in the three constitutional instances, it went to the Chamber of Deputies for consideration. This legal text was designed to amend Article 66 of the Electoral Law dated 8 April 1989 [as published], based on a similar law dated 20 May 1986 which provided for a registration ending 90 days prior to each election.

The legal text approved in the Senate provided in a single article for an amendment to said Article 66 of the Electoral Law in connection with the period for registration, establishing that the voter registration offices will close 45 days prior to each election.

When this law was submitted for consideration in the plenary session, some ADN senators demanded a fourth recess "to permit discussion of the matter in greater depth, in order to reach agreement on it on a better basis and with more information on which to base a decision."

The motion was supported by Senator Daniel Cabezas of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), who argued in favor of a fourth recess for the purpose of holding a party consultation, but when put to a vote by Senate President Ciro Humboldt, it was voted down, and the subsequent repudiation by the ADN followed.

When Senator Ormachea found that his claim would be fruitless, he, together with the rest of the ADN bench, chose to leave the parliamentary chamber in protest, in the hope that the session would be left without a quorum. This proved not to be the case, because Cabezas, although he wanted a fourth recess, remained in the hall.

The MIR parliamentarian explained that this was because of the political determination of his party to support the democratic system, even if in the minority, for the purpose of consolidating democracy.

Senator Raul Lema Patino, for his part, praised his colleague's gesture, stressing that the ADN withdrawal had a "secondary motive." "I believe that the truth is they are fearful of a peasant vote against them," he added.

He argued that according to statistical data which he presented to the session, registration of the citizens of the nation has yielded negative results where voters' participation in the electoral contest next May is concerned.

The ADN Position

When asked about this matter, ADN Deputy Guido Camacho and Senator Adalberto Violand of that same party expressed confidence that the proposal will not be approved in the lower chamber.

Camacho said that the 45-day issue, as compared to the traditional 90 days, was a matter of "serious importance in legislative actions as especially solemn as the general elections."

When it came to explaining that the problems in the bipartisan alliance have not affected the Pact for Democracy, a very irritated Camacho made it plain that if indeed they (the ADN) were in agreement about encouraging the number of participants in the May election, they did not approve of "recourse to another type of subterfuge or acceptance of lack of discipline on the part of the citizens."

The ADN deputy said he fears that fraud might occur through manipulation and "certain maneuvers and mechanisms uncharacteristic of the ADN," and he emphasized that "Voting is not a right, but a duty."

Senator Adalberto Violand, in turn, claimed that the figures made available to the Senate were not consistent with the data his party reported to the National Electoral Court.

He rejected the view that the withdrawal of some of the members of his bench from the session was due to any fear on the part of the ADN about the peasant vote. He said that the truth is that his party won substantial votes in the rural sector.

The MNR Position

On the subject of the problems existing within the bipartisan alliance, Raul Lema Patino, the executive sectretary of the MNR, said that there are two points of disagreement between his party and the ADN. They have to do with the approval of the proposed General Budget of the Nation in the Chamber of Deputies, and the issue of extending the period for voter registration.

On the first point, Lema Patino explained that this issue should have been put on the agenda for the deputies' sessions, which "did not happen."

In this connection, he urged greater responsibility on the part of the ADN, as a partner in the alliance, in the processing of laws "which, like the one in question, are important to the functioning of the country."

He criticized what he called excessive "sensitivity" on the part of the ADN with regard to the alleged loss of its portion of power in some public and decentralized bodies. This, he said, interferes with bipartisan political action.

He also gave assurance that there have been distortions concerning the alleged existence of a supplementary document to the Pact for Democracy, in which the ADN and MNR are supposed to have pledged mutual respect for their majority prior to the next congress, after the elections.

In reality there are two documents, one signed by Paz Estenssoro and Banzer Suarez, while the other is a kind of addendum, Lema Patino explained. He said that the ADN has made demands in the bipartisan alliance which distort the relationship between the members of the ADN and those of the MNR.

Concerning the extension of the registration period, Lema Patino said that in this case too, the ADN is fearful that its interests will suffer.

When asked about whether the electoral agreement between the ADN and the MNR on future negotiations in the Congress will be respected, thanks to the results of the elections this year, Lema Patino said: "I believe that

it is necessary to think of the national interests first, and in this connection we will see what the response of the ADN will be". [passage omitted]

Chile

Pinochet Tours Ninth Region, Urges Unity

PY1702010289 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Report by Graciela Contreras from Loncoche]

[Text] President Augusto Pinochet categorically stated that he did not come here today to announce his candidacy. Pinochet urged the people to unite more effectively and to work to promote the government's goals in the face of the upcoming presidential election, no matter who the candidate is.

On the third day of his tour of the ninth region, Pinochet visited Freire, Pitrufquen, Loncoche and Gorbea, where he dedicated some projects and announced the allocation of funds for new projects.

In a speech he delivered in Loncoche, Pinochet said: [Begin recording] I did not come here to announce my candidacy [words indistinct] that we should go in this direction, then we should go in this direction. Let us not disperse, because if we do that, we will lose [passage indistinct]. We are being divided. This should not be happening to us. We must stay united. We must work for the government, for our government—no matter who will be representing us, as long as he is our man, the one we have chosen. [applause] [end recording]

During his tour of some towns of the ninth region, Pinochet stated that his government has based its actions on achievements, not on unfullfilled promises. Speaking colloquially in Loncoche, he said it is one thing to be among the crowd, and something entirely different to be on the stage.

Pinochet also said that the number of government supporters is declining. He said this should not be happening because we should preserve our unity. We must work for the government, no matter who is representing us, he said.

Sergio Diez Nominated Presidential Candidate

PY1602203989 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Sergio Diez has stated that it will be very difficult for the opposition coalition to propose a specific government plan to the nation. Diez was nominated as an independent presidential candidate last night in Temuco by several sectors of that region.

Before the nomination ceremony, which was held at the Spanish Center, Diez said in a news conference that prospects for his nomination by center-rightist groups are good when compared to a coalition divided by profound ideological disagreements. [passage omitted]

Two Warships Purchased From Israel Arrive

PY1602181989 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0533 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Santiago, 15 Feb (EFE)—It has been officially reported that two warships purchased from Israel arrived today in the Chilean port of Valparaiso to join the Chilean Navy fleet.

The two missile-equipped warships will be used to safeguard and protect Chilean territorial waters.

They will be named "Arica" and "Iquique," and will replace two torpedo boats operating in southern Chile, about 2,400 km south of Santiago.

According to press reports, these warships each displace 415 tons, are fitted with eight "Harpoon" missiles and four "Gabriel III" missiles, and develop a speed of 32 knots.

Chile currently possesses two missile-equipped warships purchased from Israel, one in 1979 and the other in 1981.

Colombia

5 FARC Fronts Announce Unilateral Cease-Fire

PA1702150189 Paris AFP in Spanish 1414 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Bogota, 17 Feb (AFP)—A peace process promoted by the administration of Liberal President Virgilio Barco appeared to be strengthened today when five fronts of the communist FARC announced that they have begun a unilateral cease-fire for an indefinite period.

The commanders of FARC Fronts 2, 3, 13, 17, and 25 announced that they will cease hostilities and will not carry out attacks or take over peasant towns. They said they will do so to facilitate the peace talks proposed by President Barco's administration.

With this cease-fire, the FARC fronts join the leftist M-19, which has been observing a cease-fire since December while negotiating with Rafael Pardo, presidential adviser for peace.

The cease-fire coincided with a meeting to promote peace held in Ibague, capital of Tolima Department, 200 km from Bogota. Participants discussed and agreed on means to promote peace in Colombia, which has suffered a wave of violence for the past 40 years.

ELN Calls for Mediation by Former President

PA1702003689 Hamburg DPA In Spanish 2308 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] Bogota, 16 Feb (DPA)—The self-styled National Liberation Army (ELN), one of Colombia's most radical guerrilla groups, has stated that 8 out of every 11 people who died each day last year due to political violence were victims of the "dirty war."

The ELN has rejected the peace proposal made last 1 September by President Virgilio Barco, and has also failed to respond to the call for a dialogue made by the government and the M-19.

However, in a letter sent to former president Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, the ELN states its willingness to discuss mechanisms "to humanize the war" and asks for the mediation of the former president, who at the end of last year made proposals aimed at promoting an agreement in that regard.

The document signed by the ELN's political leader, Manuel Perez Martinez, a former priest from Spain, states: "There are talks about peace again. The discussions are now on the subject of war or peace. You have said that in Colombia peace is a long-term project. This has produced the maxim: War should be humanized until there is peace. We find this position very realistic."

The guerrilla group states in its message to the former president that it is seeking a direct agreement with the government as well as the presence of international groups.

Over 45 Casualties in Sucre Department Clashes

PA1602134589 Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1215 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Bogota—Clashes in the southern area of Sucre Department have resulted in at least 30 dead and a large number of wounded, including military men, civilians, and guerrillas. These are the most serious clashes between Army troops and leftist subversives so far this year.

General Juan Salcedo Lora, commander of the Army's 2d Brigade headquartered in Barranquilla, confirmed these clashes are taking place in Astillero, between Guaranda and (Cenche) municipalities in southern Sucre, bordering Bolivar Department and the Cauca River.

Gen Saucedo confirmed a large guerrilla column, apparently of the outlawed Army of National Liberation, ELN, attacked the tugboats "El Procer" and "Santa Leonor," which were transporting numerous peasants and businessmen under the guard of Vergara and Velasco Battalion units.

The military men immediately responded to the attack, and a clash that lasted at least 5 hours ensued. Gen Saucedo confirmed that as of last night, five military men and five civilians had been killed. He added that the insurgents sustained an undertermined number of casualties.

[Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network immediately provides an updated report] Bogota—Five military men, including an officer, and five civilians were killed during bloody clashes that have been taking place since yesterday in the southern area of Sucre Department.

In the clashes, more than 15 people, including military men and civilians, have been wounded. According to the reports, which are still sketchy, more than 20 guerrillas are among the casualties, and many have been wounded. [passage omitted]

Some of the wounded military men have alredy been taken to the Central Military Hospital in Bogota. The civilians are being assisted in health centers of towns near the clash sites.

'The Black Hand' Causes Bucaramanga 'Massacre'

PA1702044089 Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 8 Feb 89 pp 1-A, 8-A

[Excerpts] Authorities cannot understand nor have they been able to establish motives for this new massacre in the very streets of the City of Parks [Bucaramanga].

These bloody events started in Bucaramanga at 2255 on Monday when police found the corpse of a man aged about 30 on 19th Street and 5th Avenue. According to preliminary reports, he was a bazuco salesman.

One hour later, the body of Horacio Alvarez riddled with 11 submachine gun bullet holes was found on the road leading to the sea.

According to authorities, Alvarez had a police record and was a gang member of a group of common criminals that robbed townsfolk.

A group of youths at a residential area's children's park were taken by suprise by assasins who shot them to death 2 hours after a crime wave struck the city. Five people lost their lives in this urban massacre, while another youngster—a member of the group—is listed in serious condition at a Bucaramanga health center. [passage omitted]

At 0120 yesterday, authorities discovered two bodies on the Mal Paso road, southwest of Bucaramanga.

The bodies were found with their hands tied, with signs of torture, and with 11 bullet holes in each. They were between 20 and 37 years of age. [passage omitted]

According to official sources, the murderers in this city are presumably members of the "The Black Hand" group, which has reappeared to take justice into its own hands.

It is recalled that last year this group started persecuting common criminals, homosexuals, prostitutes, and drug dealers all over the department.

Cali experienced a similar situation in 1988 when 17 people were killed in one night. As in Santander, most of the victims were homosexuals and drug dealers. [passage omitted]

Paraguay

Government Will Not Postpone 1 May Elections

PY1602004689 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 15 Feb 89 p 8, 9

[Excerpt] After a meeting this morning with the chief of state, Interior Minister General Orlando Machuca Vargas stated that the 90-day deadline for elections, established by the Constitution, will be respected. Therefore, the opposition's request for a postponement of the elections has practically been rejected. The opposition wanted the elections held at a later date.

"General Rodriguez stated clearly and emphatically in his proclamation that the Constitution and the laws will be respected. That is what we are doing. If we violate those articles of the Constitution at the request of the opposition, we would then be authorized to violate other articles. This is the government's position, and we cannot violate it." This was the response of Machuca Vargas when he was asked what would be the outcome of the National Accord's request for a postponement of the general elections scheduled for 1 May 1989. [passage omitted]

Stroessner Accused of Misuse of Public Funds

PY1602013189 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 16 Feb 89 p 54

[Summary] In the wake of revelations that former President Alfredo Stroessner managed for his own benefit funds deposited in a special account of the Public Works and Communications Ministry, lawyers Maria Teresita Sanchez and Gladis Rambado today initiated a court action against him for embezzlement of public funds. In this special account are deposited 4 billion guaranies from road toll revenues and an unspecified amount from a 3-guarani surcharge on each liter of diesel fuel sold. The lawyers called for the former president's extradition and for a preventive embargo on his private properties as a guarantee of the defendant's liability.

Armed Forces Release Official Casualty List

PY1702005089 Asuncion RPC Television Network in Spanish 2238 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] The office of the Armed Forces commander in chief today released a communique providing the official list of casualties during the 2-3 February military rebellion:

The Armed Forces commander in chief has the painful duty of informing the national and international community that during the night of 2-3 February of this year members of our military units heroically fell while fulfilling their duties. Two civilians were also accidentally killed in the operations. The Armed Forces commander in chief prays to Almighty God for their eternal rest, and for their relatives' Christian resignation.

This is the list of the deceased: Alain P. Loetscher, a French civilian, and Flora N. Lezcano, another civilian.

Cavalry Major Miguel Angel Ramos Alfaro; conscripts Jose Galeano, Manuel Arce Nunez, Ruben Cesar Rivas Mongelos, Pablino Alvarenga, Hugo Walter Acuna Roman, Tranquilino Gonzalez, Daniel Jara Rivela, Matildo Dominguez Cardozo, Carlos Romero Dure, Gilberto Leguizamon Rios, Lider Samuel Rojas, Valentin Vargas Quinonez, Milciades Torales Davalos, Victor Hugo Ramirez, Domingo R. Benegas, Mario Ramon Romero, Virgilio Enciso, Julian Estrella Burgos, Bernardo Frutos Morel, and Elvio Amarilla Armoa; police first officer Esteban Marino Delvalle; police fireman second officer Gustavo Ruben Gomez Segovia; inspector subofficer driver Ignacio Ramon Vera; assistant subofficer driver Fidencio Ayala Vera; second subofficer driver Benito Farina; and police second subofficers Mario Santacruz, Bernardino Medina Gonzalez, and Ramon Arsenio Gonzalez Vigo.

The Armed Forces commander in chief deeply regrets the loss of these precious human lives and appeals to the civic and Christian conscience of the citizenry so this heroic sacrifice will be forever held as a symbol of national unity and concord.

Thus ends the communique released today by the office of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Former Minister Being Held at Police Hospital

PY1602145788 Asuncion EL DIARIO in Spanish 16 Feb 89 p 10

[Excerpt] Interior Minister Orlando Machuca Vargas yesterday told Government House journalists that former Industry and Commerce Minister Delfin Ugarte Centurion "is hospitalized at the police hospital, where he is undergoing the medical treatment ordered by his personal physician."

Machuca Vargas added that Ugarte Centurion had been under house arrest in Roa Rugua, in the QuyQuyho District. Ugarte Centurion was brought to Asuncion for medical treatment. Machuca said that once Ugarte recovers he will be taken back to Roa Rugua, where he will be confined for the time being. [passage omitted]

Police Officer Causes PLRA Meeting Suspension

PY1602155589 Asuncion HOY in Spanish 16 Feb 89 p 8

[Excerpt] An Authentic Radical Liberal Party (PLRA) meeting at a private house in Benjamin Aceval (Chaco) was suspended because Juan Bogarin, deputy chief of police in the town, claiming to act on "orders from above," recorded the names and party positions of each PLRA member. Bogarin was asked to leave, but since he refused to go, the politicians decided by a majority vote to suspend the meeting.

This information was released to HOY by PLRA leader Ceferino Villalba. The incident happened in the evening of 14 February at the house of Alejandro Torres, who, according to Villalba, had informed the local police station about the meeting to be held in his house. [passage omitted]

Correction to Political Figures on Events

PY1502125989

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Political Figures Comment on Recent Events," published in the 15 February Latin America DAILY REPORT, page 42:

page 44, column one, paragraph one, sentence six make read: ...to speak, were pressuring the new government... (providing dropped word "pressuring")

page 47, column two, paragraph one, sentence two make read: ...of elections—to meet the requirement of... (providing dropped word "meet")

same paragraph, sentence four make read: ...Miguel Angel Soler, Derlis Villagra. What happened... (correcting name)

same paragraph, penultimate sentence make read: ...new deception. We cannot afford such a... (changing word "can" to "cannot")

Peru

Soviet Trawlers Fishing Despite Objections

PY1302145189 Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Despite the objections to the Soviet-Peruvian fishing agreement, two more Soviet ships have arrived to join the three Soviet vessels already operating in Peruvian waters. More Soviet ships will join this group until it totals 20 ships, as stipulated in the agreement.

Making this announcement, Fisheries Vice Minister Ismael Prevost said that each Soviet crew includes inspectors from the Sea Institute of Peru, the Fisheries Ministry, and a representative of the Peruvian Navy.

Strikers Occupy Swiss Embassy, Soviet Institute

PY1602195789 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Text] CITE [Inter Sectorial Committee of State Employees] workers on strike this morning occupied the Swiss Embassy located at No 37 Zalaberry Avenue. They also occupied the Peruvian-Soviet Institute, located in front of the Health Ministry. The police have surrounded both places.

Police Arrest Peasant Federation Secretary

PY1602215289 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0257 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Test] Lima, 15 Feb (EFE)—Police sources reported here today that peasant leader and former Peruvian guerrilla Hugo Blanco has been placed at the disposal of DIRCOTE [Antiterrorist Directorate].

Blanco, secretary of the Peruvian Peasant Federation, was brought to Lima from the jungle city of Pucallpa, where he was arrested on 9 February.

On 9 February Blanco, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1978, participated in an unauthorized peasant rally in Pucallpa. The police dispersed the demonstrators, and during the incident at least 8 peasants were killed, 24 were wounded, and approximately 300 were arrested.

According to congressmen from the United left block, at least 15 people died.

Blanco, who was a guerrilla during the 1960's, was charged with inciting the peasants to revolt. Blanco is a current member of the Mariateguist Unified Movement [Movimiento Unificado Mariateguista], which is the most radical sector of the United Left.

Police sources say that Blanco, 55, a peasant leader and former Trotskiyite deputy, was carrying a pistol when he was arrested.

Approximately 2,000 peasants participated in the rally in Pucallpa, capital of the jungle department of Ucayali, 840 km northeast of Lima. The peasants demanded the payment of a debt that the local Agrarian Bank owed them for the sale of their products.

The peasants, especially the rice growers from the north of Peru, have frequently voiced their protest because of the government's delay in paying for the products it buys for the state.

Peasants of Pucallpa have been on strike since 25 January protesting the lack of payment. Other peasant federation leaders were arrested along with Blanco.

Interior Minister Admiral Juan Soria, retired, said that the demonstrators destroyed public and private property, injured an officer and three policemen, and attacked a police vehicle.

Soria added that the peasants were encouraged by Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement members.

*** Rivas Davila on Costs of Social Plan**
33480082d Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish
23 Dec 88 p E-1

[Report on interview with Deputy Carlos Rivas Davila, minister of economy and finance; date and place not given]

[Text] The announced "acceleration of corrections" in January and February in order to avoid hyperinflation and limit the duration of the economic recession is expected to be cushioned by a "social compensation plan" of about $150 million in 1989.

According to the minister of economy and finance, Deputy Carlos Rivas Davila, the plan will mainly be aimed at the PAIT [not further identified] with the objective of providing 100,000 temporary jobs. It will also be aimed at health plans and the so-called PAN [National Food Program], among others.

According to statements Minister Carlos Rivas Davila made to this newspaper, the "social compensation plan" will be financed with funds from international cooperation organizations like the UNDP [UN Development Program], UNICEF, the World Bank, etc.

How is it defined?

"It is a temporary instrument of government policy to formulate and coordinate social welfare and production programs in the fields of food, health, and education and the emergency job programs needed to alleviate the short-term effects of the recession in the lower-income sectors."

What are the objectives?

a) To help prevent poorer nutrition in vulnerable groups and the lower-income sector in general, facilitating their access to basic foods as a priority of national production.

b) To facilitate poor people's access to basic social services with priority for essential medicines for health protection, potable water, domestic fuel for isolated settlements, school food programs, and urban transportation.

c) To promote the generation of temporary production jobs with priority for the rural sector.

What are the target sectors?

Youths between the ages of 15 and 25 since this is the social group with the highest rates of underemployment, unemployment, and social neglect; people in their thirties; and families and communities displaced by political violence.

Strategies

Some of the approved strategies for the "social compensation plan" are:

To create the Social Compensation Fund to administer the program and as an instrument to regulate, strengthen, and complement existing social programs at the national level.

To reorient and strengthen the actions of PAN, extending its action to the provinces.

To attract participation by nongovernmental organizations, popular organizations, the church, etc., for decentralized execution of the plan by request or subcontract.

To make ONAA [National Office for Food Support] the logistical instrument of the social compensation plan, reinforcing its installed capacity, updating its systems of registration, distribution, and evaluation, and improving its logistical capacity through participation of the private sector.

Changes in Consumer Habits

At the same time, reorientation of consumer habits and improvement of popular nutrition will continue.

The task includes: making agriculture profitable (guaranteed prices, agrarian insurance, etc.); promoting the cultivation of potatoes and other Andean crops; promoting the consumption of fish; developing the dairy basins of Mantaro, Puno, Cuzco, and San Martin; and helping the sugar industry recover.

*** Congressmen Want New Approach to Debt Problem**
33480082a Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish
21 Dec 88 p A 6

[Text] Yesterday congressmen from various political parties demanded that governments and the international financial community find a new approach to the foreign debt. They asked that it not be given the traditional treatment.

They made this demand because of the shocking situation of children in developing countries as a result of existing economic interrelationships that make it necessary to cut back on child welfare programs.

Public Opinion

The legislators also seek to stir up public sentiment within the country to keep the economic and social readjustment programs from affecting the priority for child welfare programs.

The document signed by Felipe Osterling Parodi (PPC [Popular Christian Party]), Gaston Acurio Velarde (AP [Popular Action]), Jorge Lozada Stanbury (PAP [Aprista Party of Peru]), Javier Silva Ruete (Sode [not further identified]), and Gustavo Mohme (IU [United Left]) stated that the well-being of children is a priority for the political forces by consensus and solidarity.

* Chamber of Commerce Calls for Economic Plan

33480082c Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish
22 Dec 88 p E-4

[Text] The government's admission of some mistakes it made handling the national economy is very significant. However, after the mea culpa and act of contrition, there was no express and detailed intention to change. Everyone is waiting for this, according to a communique from the Chamber of Commerce of Lima.

The Chamber of Commerce indicated that, unfortunately, the government commits another mistake by adding to its list the alleged plan to make investments with the private business sector through Confiep [National Confederation of Private Business Institutions]. Not enough investments were made.

The Chamber of Commerce explained that the government never contacted anyone connected with it or with other business entities. Instead, it formed a group of handpicked businessmen.

"The 12 apostles that made up that group resigned when they learned that there were nationalist intentions behind the large investments requested from the private sector."

What is surprising is that the government omits from its list of mistakes the biggest of all: the unconstitutional and arbitrary nationalization of the financial system. It was announced as the first step of something that was unspecified but understood by everyone. This not only led to massive popular resistance, but also discouraged new national and foreign investments.

This omission could be interpreted as reaffirmation of the nationalist line that predominates at the political summit and in some sectors of Parliament. One example is the surprising unconstitutional bill passed in the Chamber of Deputies to expropriate alcohol distillation and give it to sugar cooperatives. Businessmen would have to mobilize and fight this.

The expressed intentions to revitalize the economy, limit public expenditures to what is absolutely indispensable, reduce inflation, adjust the rate of exchange to parity, and other frequently repeated objectives that seem farther away every day are unimportant.

What is important is not announcements, but concrete action to carry them out. According to the Chamber of Commerce, it is not enough to recognize the seriousness of the crisis and express the intention of overcoming it. It is indispensable to indicate what will be attempted. However, there are still delays after 3 years in power and five different ministers of economy and finance.

It stated that the explanation about the rise in the internal exchange market, attributing it to a political conspiracy to destabilize the government, is not true either. It did not convince anyone because reality shows that not only economic agents but also state banks and public enterprises participate in that market.

The reality is different. No one knows the government's economic program (if it even exists). Without this, which is basic, everyone bases his judgment on fragmentary information that could be correct or incorrect.

Also, without an economic plan, there are no bases for agreement. It would seem that agreement is mentioned more through need for support than through conviction.

"Confidence is lacking, partly because no one yet knows what direction the economy will take. It gives the impression of being adrift."

Also there is no defined antisubversive policy. This limits the action of the armed forces and permits the expansion and deepening of insurgency which seriously erodes the national economy.

Without discarding the theory of a conspiracy which remains to be proven, the inflation of 1,900 percent and the 7-percent drop in production—figures acknowledged by the government—are more important. They could easily explain the large price increases in the exchange market, the Chamber of Commerce of Lima ended.

* Oil Field Could Yield 2.5 Billion Barrels

33480082b Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish
21 Dec 88 p A-4

[Text] The possibility that Lot 36 which Occidental Petroleum is now developing could produce up to 2.5 billion barrels of oil was announced yesterday by metropolitan alderman Richard Amiel (PPC [Popular Christian Party]).

"Hopefully, the laboratory studies will be confirmed after the exploratory wells have been drilled. These studies compare Lot 36 to the enormous Cano Limon deposit in Colombia," he said.

He reported that national production of oil is currently about 145,000 barrels per day. With its development wells, Occidental, which is exploring Lot 1-AB near the border with Colombia, "might reach 160,000 barrels per day in March. This would change the energy situation of the country," he added.

He stated that if these reserves are confirmed, Peru could obtain credit from international financial organizations. He said that the current regime lacks a real oil policy as a result of acting on a case by case basis.

He pointed out that, from July 1985 to July 1988, national oil production dropped from 200,000 to 120,000 barrels per day.

Last November, however, production reached 4,366,547 barrels with a daily average of 145,552 barrels. That is 8,616 barrels more per day than the previous month.

He pointed out that the Camisea gas is a great discovery for the energy sector and said that it is comparable to the Loma de Plata deposits (Argentina). He stated that the failure to sign the contract with Shell "was a triumph for the political niggardliness of the IU [United Left], joined by many Apristas, which seriously hurt the national economy."

He indicated that Shell will continue litigation with the government because it has rights over what was discovered. He added: "However, it proposed a timetable for exploitation of this deposit, inviting Shell or a business consortium to adopt this proposed timetable."

He said that this timetable includes:

Drilling no more than 10 wells for the recovery of condensates and reinjection of dry gas; marketing the condensates by river to generate a positive flow of cash; undertaking the first stage of a gas pipeline to the inter-Andean valleys and Selva Alta (Chanchamayo and Tarma); constructing a thermoelectric powerplant "in situ" or in the lower valleys to reinforce the interconnected Centro-Norte system.

Police Destroy 3 Cocaine Labs in Alto Huallaga

PY1502111689 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Summary] Peruvian police in the past few hours destroyed three cocaine laboratories in Alto Huallaga. The police had the support of helicopter gunships provided by the DEA [Drug Enforcement Agency]. A patrol of the 64th UMOPAR [Mobile Units for Patrolling Rural Areas] dismantled a laboratory in Shapaja. The laboratory had 60 kg of hydrochloric acid, 7,960 kg of acetone, 18,460 kg of alcohol, 7,480 kg of gasoline, and 1,000 kg of ether. Colombian Leoncio Garcia Puerto, 46, and Peruvian (Carlos Pasquel Diaz), 30, were arrested. Another laboratory was destroyed in Tocache, where police seized 1,500 kg of coca, 4 kg of sulphuric acid, 50 kg of lime, and 80 drums of kerosene. The Santa Lucia police detachment found another laboratory in (Alto Matensio), seizing 1,500 kg of macerated coca leaves and 40 gallons of kerosene, which were burned.

Drug Shipments Seized, Traffickers Killed

PY1502120289 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A 780-kg cocaine paste shipment seized at a clandestine airport in Uchiza has been brought to Lima. The drug, which is worth more than $160 million, was about to be taken to Colombia. Two powerful generators were also seized by the police. Three drug traffickers were reported killed in the action. They are (Felix Vicente), (Pompeyo Nicasso), and an unidentified person. [passage omitted]

In a police action in La Victoria and San Martin de Porres, 25 drug traffickers were arrested carrying 13 kg of cocaine past and pure cocaine hydrochloride. [passage omitted]

Base Under Construction in the Antarctica

PY1502233589 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1800 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Telephone conversation between reporter Jimmy Arce in television studio and Commander Chicana in the Antarctica—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Arce] This is the first telephone conversation we are having with the Machu Picchu base in Antarctica, where the ship ("Vic Humboldt") is harbored. In a few seconds Commander Chicana will tell us about the condition of the members of the expedition, who have traveled there to help install the Machu Picchu base. [passage omitted]

Hello ("Humboldt"), do you read me?

[Chicana] Yes, I read you loud and clear. This is Frigate Captain Chicana, commander of the ("Vic Humboldt").

[Arce] Good afternoon. What progress has there been in the scientific experiments being carried out on board the "Humboldt"?

[Chicana] The activities are being carried out as planned. [passage omitted]

Today we are harbored in front of the Machu Picchu base in order to help build it.

[Arce] We wish to know how the construction of the base is going.

[Chicana] According to schedule, the construction of the base should conclude on the 24th [month not specified]. We are currently building it, and we have made considerable progress. We are optimistic about finishing on schedule. Over. [passage omitted]

Uruguay

Argentine 'Terrorist' Communiques of Concern

PY1602021589 Montevideo Radio Carve in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Feb 89

[Text] The Uruguayan Government is concerned about the dissemination in our country of communiques by Argentine terrorists whose actions are designed to destabilize democracy.

Education and Culture Minister Adela Reta, called representatives of ANDEBU [National Association of Broadcasters], and the Uruguayan Newspapers and Press Associations to her office to exchange ideas on freedom of the press.

At the end of the meeting at the Education and Culture Ministry, Minister Reta made these remarks to Carve:

[Begin recording] [Reta] The meeting held this afternoon was meant to convey to the leading Uruguayan press organizations the government's concern about the use of the freedom of the press, which the government respects and is determined to respect. This freedom requires, however, that those who enjoy it act responsibly.

We believe that the article published this morning by the newspaper LA REPUBLICA is not in keeping with the rules that a democratic press should follow.

[Reporter] What are the limits for that type of publication?

[Reta] When a news item is published, it is assumed that the news has been verified. One cannot publish a news item that has not been verified and that [words indistinct].

[Reporter] In this case, will the publishers be held responsible for their action?

[Reta] I am not passing judgment on that matter [passage indistinct] and that the state, the government wants everyone to commit themselves to preventing worse evils. [words indistinct] an approach that is in no way harbored by the government.

[Reporter] Will the Education and Culture Ministry call other meetings?

[Reta] No. The only meeting was held today with representatives of the Uruguayan Newspapers and Press Associations. The article that prompted this meeting [passage indistinct].

[Reporter] Have there been contacts with Argentine officials?

[Reta] There were no contacts this morning, but [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Communist Party To Publish New Mouthpiece

PY1602023789 Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 9-15 Feb 89 p 1

[Summary] Communist sources told BUSQUEDA that the newspaper LA HORA and the weekly EL POPULAR, the Uruguayan Communist Party's (PCU) mouthpieces, will be printed until the end of March. LA HORA and EL POPULAR will be replaced by a new and "improved" newspaper.

Reporters from LA HORA and EL POPULAR will make up the journalist staff of the new newspaper, which will probably appear in the 1st week of April. Use of the administrative and printing staffs is under study.

The sources added that the new newespaper might possibly be called LA HORA POPULAR, although no decision has yet been made in this regard. The director or directors of the new newspaper have not yet been appointed.

Appointment of New Cuban Ambassador Accepted

PY1602024689 Montevideo LA HORA in Spanish 6 Feb 89 p 5

[Summary] The Uruguayan Government has accepted the appointment of Abelardo Cubelo Padron as new Cuban ambassador to Uruguay. At the time of his appointment, Padron was working at the General Department of Foreign Relations of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee.

Venezuela

President Perez Announces New Economic Measures

PA1702023189 Caracas Venezolana de Television Canal 8 in Spanish 2224 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Speech by President Carlos Andres Perez at the Ayacucho Room of the Miraflores Palace in Caracas—live; monitored in progress]

[Text] ...hesitation to face the crisis. That is understandable. The country is confused. I am sure, however, that the efforts we have been making since we won the elections to study the situation to be able to adopt decisions and to govern the country have been appreciated.

Deficient government structures, institutions, and organizations make it difficult for us to quickly find the data necessary to make decisions. We have spent months working feverishly on this. We have been governing for 2 weeks, during which we have been actively talking and consulting with people and gathering and verifying information essential to implementing well-organized measures within the framework of a coherent program, which must be in line with finding strategic solutions for serious economic imbalances and for disturbing and growing social problems.

The country's true situation demands changes and the adoption of new behavior and consumption habits.

Venezuela demands a profound transformation of its structures to be able to take a new path, the path of real modernization, which will allow us to build the country we all want, one with strengthened democracy, sustained economic growth, and authentic social justice; the Venezuela of the 21st century, the Venezuela of our young.

For years we were satisfied with our oil income. We saw defects and deficiencies, but also substantial achievements. In the past 10 years, however, we have seen a different situation: oil prices fell, there is the foreign debt, and the massive flight of foreign exchange; there is the differential exchange system and there have been errors and failure to act. All this has produced serious monetary, exchange, financial, and fiscal imbalances.

To this we may add that inflation has been only artificially checked. More than $25 billion has been paid to service the foreign debt. An importing frenzy has been promoted by irregular RECADI [Differential Exchange Systems] mechanisms as well as by the preferential use of dollars. Low interest rates have discouraged savings and have encouraged the granting of credit to a small privileged sector.

This is evidence of the traditional Venezuelan habit of seeking temporary solutions. This was done while the true situation was undermining the very ground beneath us.

We are at a historic crossroads. I will act calmly, but without using concessions that could make us repeat errors and make us fail to do what we must. We will now face the situation in a definite manner, even if our decisions are not immediately understood. We would be acting irresponsibly if at this stage we were to make only timid corrections or fail to find necessary solutions, thus aggravating the deteriorated economy and producing an irreversible situation.

The exchange rate could be put under much pressure because of imports. This would inevitably lead to unimaginable currency devaluations. Our international reserves would not recover from that blow even if we were to completely postpone payment of the debt. The public sector deficit would almost double, and this would further increase inflation to the levels that other Latin American countries have had to endure.

The financial sector imbalance would immediately produce a devastating economic contraction and an uncontrollable flight of capital. Inflation and economic paralysis would cut the real salary of workers almost in half in 1989 and unemployment would double.

The correction of the serious imbalances that have accumulated necessitates immediate action. The country does not have the money to meet its immediate economic obligations. The country's operational reserves have been used up, and we must meet the payments for our 1988 exports, which were 20 percent more than our oil exports. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the Venezuelan Government agreed to cover any possible exchange rate risks, thus greatly increasing the government's spending by 100 billion bolivares.

The public sector does not have this kind of money, much less does the private sector have it. This represents a serious problem that the country must be made aware of, not only because it creates a dramatic impasse for the Venezuelan public and private economy, but also because it forces us to confront the international financial sectors that obviously are unwilling to help the country cover the exchange rate risks in order to purchase our imports.

The problem is a complex one, and we are confronting it with honesty and determination. We are embarking on a process of concerted effort that will allow us to reach solutions that will not hinder the country's productivity. Once these solutions have been reached, you will be informed. We will not endanger our national heritage. We will not ignore the government's commitment to businessmen.

A search for very difficult and complex solutions is necessary. We are not going to give in, nor are we going to change our course. However, it is necessary for the country to know the truth so that together we may assume the responsibility that will allow us to open a clear path for the nation's future.

I propose to the country that we embark on a concerted effort. It is a gigantic effort that calls for firm determination and a willingness to practice austerity and to make greater efforts, something that some sectors have yet to fully understand. What we need is a political and social change and, above all, a profound cultural change in which the values of effort, production, work, and social solidarity take priority. We must set aside the words easy and consumption and the idea that nothing has happened here. The truth is that we are confronting a radically different situation; however, there are many sectors who are as yet not fully aware of this.

I call on the country to help in this difficult task. There are no easy solutions. As president of the republic, I am willing and prepared to head and direct the efforts toward national recovery. The concerted effort I am suggesting is aimed at drafting a new strategy until a modern plan for the country can be proposed. The traditional differences between the government and the opposition can create difficulties. I understand this, and I also realize that this cannot change in the short term. However, what I can hope for, and what the country can hope for, is that all the institutional, union, professional, business, and labor sectors will gain a deep understanding of the crisis we are experiencing.

The decisions we are making today are not aimed at alleviating a situation that must not be allowed to continue. The idea behind these decisions is to lead the country toward a destiny in accord with its historic potential. These are measures that would have been adopted at one time or another; measures that should have been adopted a long time ago. Each and every one of us share responsibility.

The measures I am announcing today are not the beginning of a chain of similar measures. These measures are to correct the course and to boost the process of economic and social modernization. The great change in our direction and the experiences we have had, the mistakes we have made, the solutions we have found, and the short-term measures we have improvised commit us all.

The main objectives of these measures are:

1. An in-depth struggle against inflation. The idea is to give the country the necessary resources and conditions to keep inflation from having devastating effects on the productive sector and the less fortunate. 2. To generate a sustained growth of the national revenue. Only by taking the country's resources and possibilities and our foreign indebtedness into account will we be able to achieve a moderate growth of the gross national product in 1989 and a higher rate of growth each year between 1990 and 1995.

3. To balance the balance of payments in the medium term with moderate oil revenues throughout the next 5 years. A policy of structural growth and changes will generate between 1989 and 1992 a deficit in our current account. It is essential, not optional, to get foreign funds to cover that deficit. This must be made clear. We have used up our reserves, but we are not going to beg for this money. We are going to ask for it with responsibility, proving that we are capable of admitting our mistakes and correcting economic problems. We believe that it is the duty of international financial sectors to help Venezuela in these difficult and complex times. The IMF agreement is unavoidable and necessary and was drafted by the government with responsibility and seriousness.

4. To promote a just distribution of income and wealth. The increasingly narrow distribution of income that dominated the 80s will be turned around so that a majority of the people can also enjoy economic and social prosperity. We will reorient public spending in an attempt to favor the low income sectors by increasing levels of employment and productivity.

The government's economic policy—aimed at achieving sustained growth, an internal and external balance, low inflation, and better distribution of economic and social welfare—will be based on four basic strategies:

1. Promote non-oil exports and efficiently replace imports. This will help close the import-export gap and generate a much more balanced standard of export revenues in the short term.

2. Savings in the public sector. This will become the main source of funds to finance the efforts that will be launched in 1989 to accumulate capital.

3. Accelerated expansion of private investments. This will generate an escalating process of economic growth.

4. Redirect social policies toward a system that directly supports the neediest sectors. This will replace the current system of indiscriminate subsidies, in which the benefits of the government's policies are transferred to the privileged sectors of our society.

It is necessary to repeat categorically that my government has and will have clear social guidelines; it has made an irrevocable pledge with the Venezuelan workers, peasants, middle class, and poor. The economic measures I announce to the country cannot be separated from the decision to improve the quality of life and protect the real income of the masses. It is not a matter of using generous compensation to create the illusion of economic reform and attain short-term results for the low-income sectors. It is part of a whole; an overall cohesive policy that is aimed at developing our economy in a harmonious and balanced way.

The main economic and social measures are as follows:

1. The adoption of a new exchange rate system to consist of a single, flexible exchange rate that will be determined in accordance with supply and demand. The new exchange rate will be used to carry out all economic transactions; for the import and export of goods and services and for investment operations.

2. Deregulation of the active and passive interest rates of the national financial system, led by a process of concerted efforts to moderate them. A preferential exchange rate will be established for the agrarian sector. Also, a program for direct subsidies to the mortgage and savings and loan system will be established in the housing sector to build low - and middle - income housing. Referring to the agriculture sector, the interest rate will be set at 7 points below the average market rate, and will be applicable to the following products: Cereals, legumes, oleaginous products, cattle, chicken, and pigs.

Likewise, banks will continue to finance the agrarian sector at the same interest rate. They have agreed to grant credits to small - and medium - sized industries as working capital. We have asked the banking sector to eliminate the unilateral charge added to the interest rate. The policy of subsidizing the interest rate in the housing sector will be increased to cover 79 percent of the

mortgage and savings and loan system beneficiaries—approximately 244,000 debtors. We will initially earmark 2 billion bolivares for that sector.

Seeking to fulfill the middle classes' housing demands, specially those of young people, we have ordered a review of the leasing law to support the construction of rental units and to include houses built in accordance with Decree 2,043.

3. In addition to the exchange rate and financial policies, action will be undertaken with regard to the tariff policy. Consequently, we will correct the irregularities affecting the import laws. We have adopted the following guidelines, which must be implemented by the various executive branch agencies within 180 days:

A. The tariff policy must be rationalized so that tariffs guarantee effective levels of protection and compensate for the adoption of a new single exchange rate system.

B. The restrictions established by the customs law will be gradually eliminated.

C. Imported assets will no longer be tax-exempt, except those specified in international agreements.

D. Imports will not be subject to the approval of an import certificate or import guidelines.

E. Exporters will be able to freely sell foreign exchange resulting from their operations.

These measures are aimed at eliminating the Venezuelan economy's antiexport guidelines. Consequently, the export process will be free of obstacles and limitations. A new system of incentives and support for exports will be redesigned shortly.

We will immediately reorganize Venexport [expansion unknown], which will provide direct technical and financial aid to exporters, supported by the foreign minister and the ICE [Venezuelan Institute of Foreign Trade]. This will provide international markets for our products.

4. In the fiscal area, the national government will implement rigorous discipline in its expenditures so as to reduce fiscal expenses, whose detrimental inflationary effects have been felt in recent times. We have already ordered a freeze on public employment and issued instructions to fill vacancies with personnel within each organization. Excess personnel must be transferred to other areas to optimize their efficiency.

The public sector's productivity should noticeably increase in a short time, and the effects will result in better attention to the public by all government agencies and enterprises. I have been quite emphatic about this point with the ministers.

The consolidated fiscal debt has increased lately due to the deficit of the autonomous institutes that provide services to the public. The renegotiation of this debt and the adjustment of rates should be carried out accordingly. CADAFE [Electrical Administration and Development Corporation] and CANTV [National Telephone Company of Venezuela] rates will be gradually adjusted, and we will begin the process to create decentralized enterprises.

We must particularly exert ourselves concerning oil by-products, because the oil industry's supply of hydrocarbons to the nation has resulted in increasing losses. It is not simply a matter of failing to achieve a profit. PDVSA [Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc.] lost 18 billion bolivares between 1979 and 1983. If the current structure and prices continue, the 1989 - 92 deficit will be 137 billion bolivares.

Regarding fertilizer subsidies, the government has decided to maintain its original subsidy of 50 percent of the price of fertilizer. It has made this decision in light of the fact that subsidizing fertilizer prices by 80 percent has triggered the wasteful use of fertilizer. This subsidy has also cost the state several billion bolivares, which will partly be used to aid the agricultural production of neighboring countries.

To counteract the effect of this expense and of other agricultural expenses, producers will be paid profitably for their products and will receive technical and financial assistance toward increasing their production.

Despite our determination to reduce the fiscal deficit, we intend to set aside a sizeable portion of fiscal treasury revenues for adequate social programs. We will thus be able to help the lower and more vulnerable classes to adapt to the economic adjustments.

Venezuela's tax system needs to be modernized and readjusted to the new realities of the nation's economy. We have already begun to revise this system. This year we will propose that the Congress modify the current income tax law to favor the lower and middle classes. We will propose an increase in tax reductions and exemptions. Modifications favoring businesses will be directed at solving problems having to do with devaluation and assets reassessment. We will also promote exemptions from current taxes so that we can improve tax collection.

We will also introduce a sales tax bill before the Congress to complement customs procedures for luxury and nonessential products. Redefining the state's role in production will be an important part of our country's process of transformation and political change. I have thus decided to create the National Liquidating Company [Empresa Liquidadora Nacional], which will be in charge of promoting privatization. This company will encourage men and women who have or wish to develop ideas for businesses, but it will not jeopardize already existing

businesses. This policy will be essential in enabling us to promote the democratization of our capital, just as we have promoted democratization in other areas of our society.

We will create the Guarantees Fund [Fondo de Garantia] for the upkeep and development of small businesses. The fund will provide small businesses with credit support. Small- and medium-size businesses are essential for our country's recovery. The Venezuelans who were there for my first presidential term know that these businesses are one of my top priority concerns.

Our social policy measures are: 1. A salary increase for government workers, including retirees, amounting to an average of 30 percent. This increase will be subject to the appropriate procedures and will become effective 1 March. Personnel in the Armed Forces will also receive a raise according to their specific duties in the nation's service.

Furthermore, I am pleased to announce that a great example was set by businessmen and workers this morning, in accordance with our our government's concerted efforts. They have agreed on a salary raise for private workers. As of 1 March, there will be a 30-day deadline for the raise to become effective. Furthermore, the raise will at least be equivalent to the average raise granted to government employees. The agreement, signed by both businessmen and workers, includes a study of the retroactivity of the employees' social benefits, such as their double indemnity benefits and others of mutual interest.

To guarantee that lower-income families will have access to basic staples, we will implement a policy of direct subsidies for essential products which are scarce.

These products will be steadily supplied by a business organization composed of a network of markets, which will also sell other staple products at reasonable prices.

3. [no point 2 as heard] A food program will be implemented for elementary and preschool children in the country's low-income areas.

4. The creation of 42,000 day care centers is being considered. These centers would cater to a large percentage of children who live in precarious conditions.

5. In the health field, programs for infants and preschool children will be strengthened to erradicate diarrheic and respiratory diseases, and other illnesses that can be prevented through vaccinations.

6. A plan will be developed to consolidate poor urban and rural neighborhoods, and to organize essential social services, focusing primarily on community participation.

7. The government plans to develop an active support policy to consolidate and modernize small businesses. A guarantees fund will be created to give the poor access to the financial system and technology.

8. A massive food transfer program for children up to age 14, pregnant mothers, and infants will be implemented by broadening the Nutrition Institute's programs.

9. A far-reaching program has been planned to consolidate health units in the communities, to continue building modular units and repairing existing ones, and to broaden the school's social base by having it lead the way to direct participation in the social measures I am announcing.

10. I pledge to organize and structure a social security system capable of protecting the general public from the problems that emerge in life.

11. A presidential commission will be created to fight poverty. It will be composed of all the government and private institutions directly involved in this issue.

I must point out that the problems and plans I have described will be financed by the additional 31 billion bolivares especially set aside for the social policies that will be implemented in 1989. This sum will be added to the 1989 budget through the social network's ordinary channels. Part of the regular budget, obviously, will be used to finance public services normally provided to the public, which should contribute significantly to the success of this short-term social policy.

Efficiency in state services must be increased in order to use available sources to their fullest. In fact, one of my campaign slogans was social efficiency. Efficiency will now be implemented through the use of resources in a rational and socially just manner.

I am optimistic about Venezuela's future. All the things I have said do not indicate pessimism or a desire to prevent future frustrations. We have material resources and formidable human resources shaped by democracy. I have no doubts about the potential and dimensions of the Venezuelans' moral resources. We have not succumbed in a maelstrom of irreversible historical tragedy.

I am persuaded that there will be no hesitation or wavering on the path that demands the construction of a modern Venezuela. I am sure of the understanding and the united, harmonious, and solidary effort of all Venezuelans without any discrimination whatsoever.

I appeal to the country for support because there will be no respite at the presidency as we work on the task of preparing Venezuela for its entry to the wonderful event the 21st century promises to be. I will not betray you. With my desire to serve and with my collaborators, I will strengthen the confidence Venezuela has placed in me.

Men and women of Venezuela, you and I, all of us, are proud to be Venezuelans. We will overcome our problems. Let's get to work. [applause]

Suriname

Bouterse Marks Coup Jubilee With Speeches

PM1602090389 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 10 Feb 89 p 6

[Wim Noordegraaf dispatch: "Bouterse Celebrates Revolution Day in Grand Style"]

[Text] Paramaribo—Surinamese Army Leader Bouterse and his NDP [National Democratic Party] have begun a campaign to celebrate the Day of the Revolution on 25 February in grand style. In the days leading up to 25 February he has called dozens of mobilization meetings throughout the country at which he and Land Forces Commander Sital will speak.

During a speech this week at the Marienburg sugar plantation Bouterse told an audience of 500 that "the people will call the government to account" if the election promises of the Front for Democracy and Development—the governing coalition—are not kept. "Development aid must lead to economic independence from foreign powers," Bouterse said.

He was critical of the government because in its 1st year all its energies have been put into the restoration of development ties with the Netherlands. "Black market trading has not been tackled and no attempt has been made to counter the Netherlands pressure for the devaluation of the Surinamese guilder."

The new Constitution prescribes 25 February as a national holiday. But President Shankar and Vice President Arron are likely to remember the 1980 coup d'etat—in which the latter was removed from office—with mixed feelings. Bouterse's NDP wants to give the government a signal on 25 February, although, according to the army leader, it is "by no means the intention to bring down the government." He was critical of the failure to install regional and local councils elected in 1987 which, "as the achievement of the revolution," were intended to involve the people in policy to a greater extent.

As an example of an authoritarian decision Bouterse mentioned the sudden proposal to resume the West Suriname project. Bouterse halted this project—the controversial and highly expensive construction of a dam on a tributary of the Corantijn River—in 1981 because "not a single expert could tell him what benefits Suriname would derive from the project and how the project would be paid for." Arron's Surinamese National Party still supports the project, even though the studies carried out by the World Bank into the dam's profitability gave little reason for optimism.

The Billiton and Suralco bauxite companies have not announced that they will step up aluminum production, so that the sales of electricity produced by the projected dam are uncertain. Land Forces Commander Sital: "Around 300 million [currency not specified] have been thrown away in West Suriname, without producing a single cent in return. Suriname is still having to pay off a loan of 50 million for a railroad running from nothing to nowhere." Sital is here referring to the premature construction of the bauxite railroad in West Suriname in 1977, under the Arron government.

Great attention is being paid during the "mobilization campaign" for 25 February to the "improvements which the revolution has brought." Bouterse: "I admit that we also made giant mistakes, but I hope that the day will come when we will again be able to make our full contribution." According to Bouterse, the unity brought by the revolution was genuine and realistic. "But alas, things turned out differently. You, the people, had no patience. You wanted something else."

The NDP campaign is being supported by radio and television programs in bought time. The Surinamese Government has not reacted yet to Bouterse's initiative.

Military 'Cocaine Link' Probe Demanded

PM1602093189 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 13 Feb 89 p 1

[Unnamed "own correspondent" report: "Call for Investigation Into Bouterse Cocaine Involvement"]

[Excerpt] The Hague—The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy [VVD] Second Chamber group wants a thorough investigation into the allegation that Surinamese Army leader Bouterse and his soldiers are involved in the international cocaine trade. The smaller government party takes the view that if the allegation proves to be correct, the Netherlands must suspend its development aid (1.6 billion guilders) to Suriname.

In the Second Chamber tomorrow the VVD will ask Justice Minister Korthals Altes and Development Cooperation Minister Bukman for clarification about Surinamese involvement in the cocaine trade. The request is the result of an article in the TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR POLITIE [Police Journal] in which Netherlands justice and police authorities accuse Bouterse and his men of drug involvement.

"We consider that this accusation must be taken very seriously," VVD Second Chamber group chairman Voorhoeve told AVRO radio yesterday. "There are indications of Surinamese military involvement which are very worrying." [passage omitted]